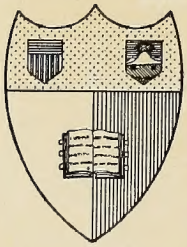

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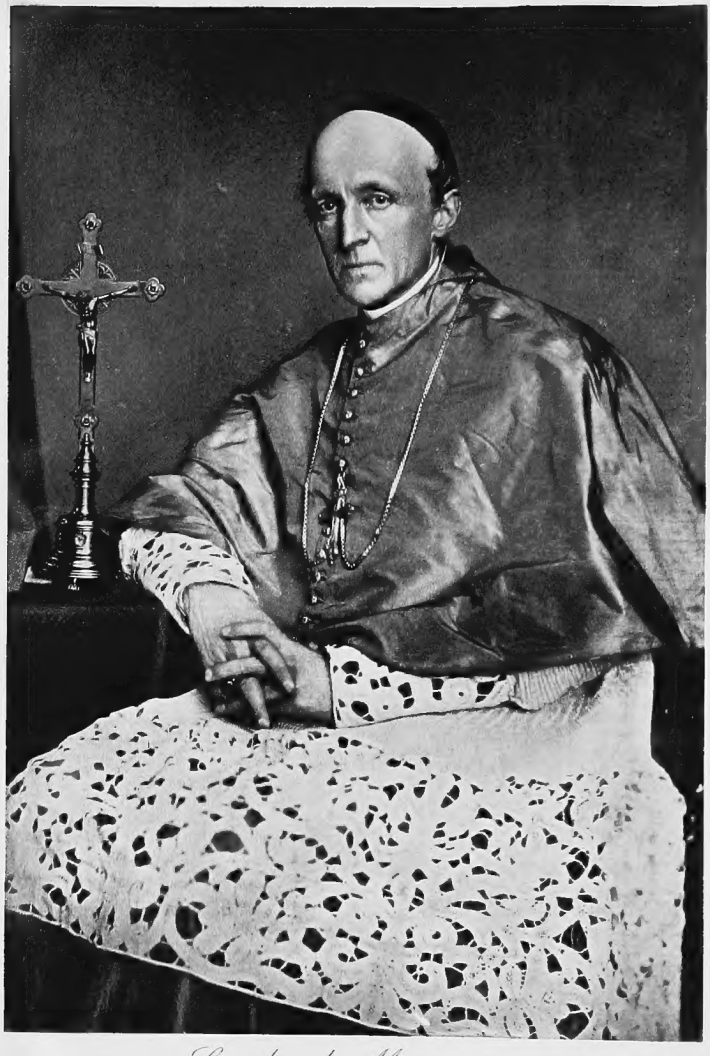

Cardinal Manning.

THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN

SECRÉTAIRE PERPÉTUEL DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE

REVISED AND RE-EDITED FROM A TRANSLATION BY THE LATE

WILFRED WILBERFORCE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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ERRATA

Page 60, line 18, *for* "Mechlin" *read* "Malines."
,, 216, line 18, *after* "common" *insert* "and consistent."
,, 390, line 6, and in Index, *for* "Liège" *read* "Liége."
,, 512, line 14. *for* "July 12" *read* "July 9."

PART III

CHAPTER I

PUSEY AND BISHOP WILBERFORCE AFTER THE CONVERSION OF MANNING

(1850—1860)

I. Pusey is blamed by Bishops Blomfield and Wilberforce—His replies—Fresh secession of the clergy of St. Saviour's. II. Wilberforce shows sympathy with High Church ideas in the government of his diocese, except in so far as they tend towards Rome. III. Gladstone's sorrow at the state of Church affairs as shown by the Gorham Judgment—Wilberforce attempts a remedy in the shape of a revival of Convocation—His partial success—He fails in his attempt to reform the Court of Appeal in matters of religion—Antagonism between Wilberforce and Tait. IV. Pusey and his friends deplore renewed acts of weakness on the part of the Bishops—The Bishops' attitude towards the Divorce Law—Archdeacon Denison is condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury for his sermons on the Eucharist—Bishop Forbes is at issue with his Scottish colleagues on a similar subject.

THE violent clamour at the end of 1850, occasioned by the "Papal Aggression," had been directed as much against the Puseyites as against the Catholics. Lord John Russell, in his famous "Durham Letter," had held them up to Protestant hatred, and in this he had been anticipated by the Bishops, many of whom, nevertheless, were looked upon as having High Church sympathies. On November 2, 1850, Blomfield, Bishop of London, and Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, renewed the attack on Pusey which they had directed against him after Newman's conversion. Blomfield, in his public

Charge, without mentioning Pusey's name, clearly alluded to him when he blamed those who "paved the way" for seceders from the Church of England by propagating doctrines and practices antagonistic to her formularies. Wilberforce, in a private letter, but more directly, accused Pusey of having estranged many from the Church. He called upon him either to justify or to alter his conduct, so as to avoid taking hostile measures.[1] The two Bishops based their complaints upon the pamphlet published by the Rev. W. Dodsworth on the eve of his submission to Rome, in which the author recalled what his former master, Pusey, had done in bringing men back to Catholic forms and ideals, and reproached him with his inconsistency in shrinking from the logical conclusion to which his teaching led.

The many notable conversions which took place at this time—that of Manning, amongst others—increased the difficulty of Pusey's position. He recognized the growing suspicion and hostility with which he was regarded; he saw his best friends leave him to become Catholics, while those whose co-religionist he still desired to be suspected and denounced him. "Pamphlets came like hailstones by every post and from the hands of friends." It was a repetition in an aggravated form of the trial which had fallen upon him five years before, after Newman's secession, and rendered his position even more untenable. "I am almost bewildered with distresses," he wrote to Keble, and he even regretted that it had not pleased God to call him to Himself. He was tempted to lay aside all controversy, and confine himself to the duties of the Hebrew

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 302, 303; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 70-81.

chair.[1] But this mood did not last. With courageous persistency, he determined not to modify his attitude.

At first, Pusey replied to Bishop Wilberforce in a private letter, justifying his teaching and practice. He subsequently took a more aggressive tone, and insisted that had the Bishops done their duty after the Gorham Judgment, and shown as much zeal in defending the Sacrament of Baptism as in protecting their Sees against "Papal aggression," the position of the Church would have been different; and that Dr. Wiseman was right in attributing the recent conversions to their procedure. This reply did not disarm the Bishop of Oxford, who was just then specially hostile to Rome on account of recent conversions in his own family. He again wrote to Pusey, reiterating his complaints. He blamed particularly Pusey's habit of hearing confessions and, as he expressed it, of doing the work of a Roman confessor, not of an English clergyman. He fully acknowledged his attachment to the Church of England, but he reproached him, nevertheless, with having no deep horror of the Popish system, and with being unwittingly "a decoy bird" to Rome; and ended by inhibiting Pusey from preaching and exercising his ministry in the diocese of Oxford until he could give satisfactory pledges. He did not, however, propose to make this inhibition public for the present. Some friends of Pusey—amongst others, Marriott, Gladstone, and Keble—tried to use their good offices between him and the Bishop. Keble, moreover, assured the Bishop that he shared Pusey's views, and that any condemnation of Pusey would strike him as well. "Of one thing I am quite confident," he added, "that if

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 296, 297.

more have passed from his teaching to Rome than from the teaching of any other, more also, by very many, have been positively withheld from Rome by his teaching than have been kept back by any other." Pusey, on his side, declared that he was resolved to defend himself, and warned the Bishop that he was prepared to take the matter into the ecclesiastical courts.[1]

While this correspondence was going on between him and his Bishop, Pusey issued a pamphlet, about the middle of January, 1851, in reply to the Bishop of London's Charge, in which he explained his position upon all the points on which he had been criticized by the two prelates on the faith of Dodsworth's allegations. This was the most complete defence of Puseyism which had yet appeared. While bringing facts which he declared had been misconstrued or exaggerated into their true light, he strongly vindicated Catholic doctrine against the popular prejudice that had been excited against it. Not without emotion, he proclaimed his fidelity to his Church. "Whatever my sins, or failures, or shortcomings may have been," he said, "one object I had ever before me, from my earliest memory—to serve God in the ministry of this His Church." He defended himself against the imputation that he had ever wished to be "a leader of a party" or that he had sought "to gather persons round him." As for the secessions which had been imputed to him, he persisted in throwing the whole responsibility upon the weakness and divisions among the rulers of the Church. The best means, he maintained, of preventing secessions was to take care that the Church was in a

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 303-313; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 79-93.

sound state. Sickly trees, he said, lose their leaves, and cannot ripen the fruit which they have borne. Whatever strengthens and deepens the life of the Church, binds her children to her.

At the very time that Pusey was defending himself events occurred which supplied his accusers with fresh weapons. It was not merely Dodsworth bringing to light for the second time the points in his former master's teaching and example which had shown him the way to Rome. There were conversions to Catholicism in those very quarters where Pusey's influence was most strong—in the Sisterhoods founded under his direction,[1] and, above all, among the clergy of the Church of St. Saviour's, Leeds, which had been built by him and had remained under his patronage. The excitement caused in 1847 by the exodus to Rome of some of the ministers of this church has already been noted. The clergymen whom Pusey had with some difficulty secured to replace them soon found themselves suspected by Dr. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, and the Bishop, Dr. Longley, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, who became their unresting and passionate foes. Certain ceremonies, devotions and teaching at St. Saviour's and the practice of Confession appeared to savour of Romanism. The Gorham Case in 1850 made matters more strained, and the Bishop felt obliged to suspend several of the clergy of St. Saviour's. The result of this was to convince the clergy of that church that there was no place for them in Anglicanism, and, with one single exception, they determined to submit to Rome. In April, 1851, Newman went to Leeds to receive three of their number into

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 284.

the Church, and on this occasion he preached a sermon, in which he showed that the Church of England was becoming more and more under State control, while the Catholic Church was growing, in spite of all the opposition she encountered. He also urged his hearers to pray for the souls of those who had taken part in the building of St. Saviour's, having, of course, in mind his dear friend Pusey. Pusey had been much upset by these conversions, which he felt to be so compromising to his ideas. But he was by no means crushed by them. In company with Marriott, he hastened to Leeds, to counteract their effect and to instal new clergy. He found people strongly incensed against him and disposed to regard the recent events as further proofs that, consciously or not, he was doing the work of Rome. The Bishop published a letter in which he pointed out the inevitable outcome of the experiments copied from medieval practice of the founder of St. Saviour's. This was the beginning of a fruitless correspondence between Pusey and the Bishop, which continued till the end of the year.[1]

Wilberforce, too, looked upon the St. Saviour's conversions as a proof that his suspicions were well founded, and it was feared at one time that he would make this the pretext of publishing in solemn form the inhibition which he had already laid on Pusey. But he refrained from any public act, influenced, no doubt, partly by the representations which had been made to him. He even contented himself with the insertion in his Charge of November, 1851, of a passage which, without naming Pusey, expressed disapproval of certain parts of his work and a hope that, by a complete disavowal of Roman errors,

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 355-368.

"he would remove the suspicions which must otherwise attach to his ministry." Shortly afterwards, on the strength of fresh assurances from Pusey, he agreed to withdraw the inhibition to preach and minister in his diocese.[1]

II

Fierce as he was against Pusey when he fancied that he saw behind him the detested spectre of Romanism, Bishop Wilberforce gave more than one proof of his sympathy with the High Church movement. In the government of his diocese he showed the same spirit that had animated him as a young clergyman; and his quarrel with Pusey was scarcely over before he was congratulating himself upon a fact which he regarded as most hopeful—namely, that among the candidates for ordination there was not a single Low Churchman.[2] Moreover, he was assuredly going counter to Protestant traditions when, judging that the University training was not enough for men who were destined for the Church unless they also spent two years in a purely ecclesiastical house, he founded, in 1854, the College of Cuddesdon. The tone of this establishment may be clearly inferred from the fact that for several years its Vice-Principal was Liddon, the disciple and future biographer of Pusey. One of the students at Cuddesdon who afterwards became a Catholic (Mr. John Chapman, now Dom John Chapman, O.S.B.) has recorded that the education he received at the College contributed largely towards bringing him into the Church. Wilberforce also encouraged the preaching of missions in

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 313-327; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 93-113.

[2] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 152.

his diocese,[1] and tried to introduce among his clergy the wholly new practice, borrowed originally from the Catholic Church by Pusey,[2] of ecclesiastical retreats.[3]

Notwithstanding all this, no one can be surprised to find that the Bishop of Oxford recoiled in alarm whenever he fancied that in any of these innovations he detected any danger of "Popery." Two of the earliest Sisterhoods had been established in his diocese—namely, at Wantage and at Clewer.[4] In these houses he showed practical interest. But greatly as he valued them as factors in the religious life of the Church, he recoiled from the Roman tendencies to which such un-Protestant asceticism inevitably led. He was willing enough to encourage convents so long as they wore a thoroughly Anglican complexion; but if they could only be formed upon a semi-Roman type[5] he preferred to abandon them altogether. His attitude towards Confession and the Eucharist was the same. He vindicated the power of absolution as vested in the priest; he believed in the benefit of Confession and advocated its practice—notably, in his college at Cuddesdon; but he became alarmed when he detected features in it that were ultra-Roman; he disliked its becoming habitual and general, and he disapproved of Pusey's method of spiritual direction.[6] Moreover, he believed in the Real Presence, and declared

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 30-32, and 436.
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 377, 378.
[3] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 446, 447.
[4] In this convent was Harriet Monsell, whose edifying life has been written by Canon Carter. This biography resembles in many ways the history of a devout Catholic nun.
[5] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 167, 168, 249, 279; vol. iii., pp. 322-336.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 385 *et seq.*

that the greatest gift which God could bestow upon the Church of England would be the revival within that body of "the full Eucharistic temper." At the same time, he shrank from certain devotions in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, which he looked upon as tainted with Popish superstition.[1]

In short, Wilberforce followed a line of conduct, not always very clearly defined, which was to steer clear of what he called the extremes of Puseyism on the one hand and Low Church Protestantism on the other. Nor did his repugnance for the former school reach so far as to drive him into the latter. Doctor Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, wrote to him on an occasion when he was more than ever animated by his anti-Roman prejudices: "I have had the misfortune of being regarded as a High Churchman"; also he, "thought that the time had come, or was near at hand, when all sound Churchmen must go over to Lord Shaftesbury and his associates, in order to make common cause against these traitors. It will be a bitter pill for me to swallow, but I am prepared to swallow it." Wilberforce answered by advising patience: "Our struggle with such men as Lord Shaftesbury is for our *existence* as a *Church;* their denial is the denial of the fundamental principle of the Church Catholic. . . . You and I cannot honestly take part with these men, even to get rid of the nauseous Romanizing peculiarities of these mewing apes."[2]

But popular opinion paid no heed to these subtle distinctions, and, notwithstanding his efforts to hold himself aloof from either party, Wilberforce became identified with the Puseyites, with whom he had been so careful not

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, pp. 70-71. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 313-394.

to be compromised. Golightly, the former denouncer of Newman and Pusey, made a violent attack upon Wilberforce on account of the tone prevailing at Cuddesdon,[1] and because of his general attitude.[2] He declared that the Bishop had made the diocese of Oxford "the centre of the Romanizing movement," and he went so far as to make him responsible for those of his family who had become Catholics. On another occasion, the newspapers, including the *Times*, fell foul of the Bishop on account of a clergymen in his diocese practising Confession.[3] But these attacks, though they may have cast a momentary sadness upon him as being suspected of Romanism, did nothing to impair his authority, and the clergy of the diocese supported him with addresses expressive of their undiminished confidence.

III

Wilberforce showed himself no less ready to further High Church ideas in matters that concerned the general organization of the Church than in the government of his diocese. His early contact with the Tractarians had given him some notion of the independence in doctrine and authority which should exist in a real Church, and he recognized that there was no such independence in the Church of England, as had been clearly shown in the Gorham case. He realized the profound discredit which this affair had brought upon the Church, and especially on the Episcopate, and he realized it even more fully when, in 1852, so devoted a Churchman and one of such mental calibre as Gladstone confided to him the sorrow

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 358-373.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 415-417.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 385-404.

and dismay he felt at the Judgment. By the Gorham Judgment, he said, a principle was laid for emptying of all their force the Articles of the Creed one by one, as public opinion, by successive stages, should admit and encourage it. He went on to point out his reason for hoping nothing from the Episcopal Bench; recalling the fact that only a minority of Bishops and clergy had been found to protest against the Judgment; that the Primate had instituted a clergyman who had been rejected by his Bishop, and that the said Bishop had admitted the parson whom he had formerly rejected to be numbered among his clergy; and that the Episcopate had been unable to make their voice heard in vindication of their right to decide points of doctrine. Every calculation, he added, led to the conclusion that the tone of the Episcopal Bench with respect to dogma or authoritative teaching would decline instead of rising in the course of years. With this inability on the part of the Bishops to unite in defence of a threatened doctrine of the Church, Gladstone contrasted the unanimity and vehemence of their protests against the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy as well as against certain Ritualistic innovations which were being introduced at that time. "The world," he said, "will fairly infer that the Protestantism of the Church of England, as represented by its living Episcopate, has a rigid and an elastic side—rigid towards the ancient Church, with which it is continuous and identical; elastic with the system which destroys doctrine by destroying authoritative teaching."[1]

Wilberforce was much distressed to receive from such a man as Gladstone complaints condemning the Church

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 125-135.

which had been so unfaithful to her mission; and, considering the actual state of that Church, he knew not what to answer. He was constrained to admit that there was "a great deal of saddest truth" in what Mr. Gladstone said. He acknowledged the failure of the Episcopate as well as its divisions and feebleness. He attributed to them "Lord John Russell's miserable appointments and the fearful weakness caused by the character of the Primate." At the same time, he tried to show that certain isolated prelates had understood their duty better. But it was necessary to find some remedy for so great an evil. Where was such a remedy to be found? H implored Gladstone to suggest one.[1]

To Wilberforce himself it seemed that the chief thing was to see that the Church of England was no longer "voiceless," as she had been in presence of the Gorham Judgment. With this end in view, he began to set his heart upon the revival of the ancient institution known as Convocation. Before the Reformation this body (or, rather, these bodies, for there were Houses of Convocation in the provinces of Canterbury and York) constituted a kind of ecclesiastical Parliament, consisting of the Upper House, where the Bishops sat, and the Lower House, consisting of representatives of the inferior clergy. They settled what taxes were to be paid by the Church deliberated, besides, on various matters of interest. After the separation from Rome, the Crown, which had usurped religious supremacy, would not tolerate in the clergy a power of representation independent of itself. All authority was accordingly withdrawn from Convocation, which became a mere "farce," as truly as did the

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 125, 128, 129.

pretended election of Bishops. Even the appearance of power, which existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, completely disappeared in the eighteenth, and from that time onwards nothing existed but the name. To restore Convocation was no easy task. The prejudices of Ministers, without distinction of party, were opposed to the plan, for they were all agreed in wishing the Church to remain "voiceless." The Press was hostile and malevolent. Within the Establishment itself the Low Church and Broad Church schools looked askance at a sacerdotal emancipation which ran counter to their views. Moreover, among the Bishops themselves, many, including the Primate, were very little desirous of having the right of deliberation given them, partly because they were not used to it and partly because they feared to manifest their feebleness and want of union.

But these obstacles did not daunt Wilberforce. He gave himself wholly to the work, showing that he possessed the qualities of a statesman, which on one occasion drew from Cobden the remark that "if he had not been a priest he must have been a Prime Minister."[1] He worked hard with his colleagues on the Episcopal bench, rousing their enthusiasm, urging them to action, drawing on those who were indifferent, disputing and contesting with those who were hostile. At the same time, he negotiated skilfully with men in the political world, and made the utmost use of his Court influence, especially of his friendship with Prince Albert.

A first step was made in 1852, when authority was given to Convocation to sit for one day to draw up a petition to the Crown. It was a happy event for the

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 283.

friends of the movement when, in that year, Lord Aberdeen became Prime Minister, and this, not only because he brought into his public acts the uprightness and breadth of views[1] which were his habitual characteristics, but because his son and Private Secretary, Arthur Gordon, was wholly devoted to the Bishop of Oxford and his plans. Still, even with such support, the project made slow and painful[2] progress. Lord Aberdeen, who was friendly enough to the scheme, both personally and from a desire to gratify the urgent wishes of his son, was constantly held in check by the opposition of other members of his Cabinet; moreover, he doubted the possibility of the Bishops ever agreeing upon any doctrinal question, and, as he once stated, "the Church of England was *two* Churches, only held together by external forces."[3] Nor was there any unanimity of view, even among those Churchmen who wished to restore a voice to the Church, as to the part which Convocation was to play. Anthony Hort and others criticized the democratic element of the Houses, maintaining that the government of the Church belonged by Divine right to the Bishops alone;[4] while others were dissatisfied with an exclusively ecclesiastical assembly, and defended the right of laymen to take part in the deliberation; and in this view they were strengthened by seeing the establishment in various dioceses of Church Unions in which the laity was largely represented and in which laymen defended the cause of the Church with an energy

[1] See the high praise given the Lord Aberdeen by Guizot (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps*, vol. viii., p. 276 *et seq.*).

[2] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 136-201, 267-296, 437-445.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 162.

[4] *Life and Letters of T. J. Anthony Hort*, by A. F. Hort, vol. i., p. 267.

for which one looked in vain among the Clergy.[1] Among those who insisted upon the participation of the laity in Convocation was Gladstone. Pusey and Keble were opposed to it.[2]

Meantime, Wilberforce persevered in his enterprise with dauntless energy, and he felt he had gained a notable victory when, in 1855, he secured a three days' session of Convocation. In the years that followed more ground was gained, but the progress was very slow, and the Assembly remained devoid of authority or executive power, entirely subordinate to the Crown, to which it owed its existence, which limited its duration, and decided both the subject and tenor of its debates.

And even the little life that was instilled into Convocation was neutralized by the subordination of the Church to the State, which necessarily existed so long as the Court of Appeal in religious questions was the Privy Council. Since 1850, when this essential vice of Anglicanism had become so glaringly evident, to the great trouble of men's consciences, nothing had been done to correct it. It was as if the need of a remedy was denied. If only to arrest conversions to the Catholic Church, its necessity was clearly recognized. The Bishops were full of it. As early as 1850 Bishop Blomfield had—in vain, of course—proposed to the House of Lords a reform in the supreme tribunal of appeal in ecclesiastical matters, and in succeeding years—notably, in 1856 and 1857—the question was debated at episcopal gatherings.[3] Wilberforce was naturally one of those most anxious to hit upon a

[1] *The History of the English Church Union*, by Bayfield Roberts, p. 6 *et seq.*

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 341-354.

[3] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 350-356.

solution of the problem, but every attempt to do so was met with insurmountable difficulties. Nor were these obstacles merely such as might have been expected to come from the Government, or Parliament; but they arose also from the want of agreement amongst the Bishops themselves, those even who felt the necessity of a reform being unable to decide upon its nature. None of them dreamed of proposing a tribunal composed exclusively of Bishops. Such a thing would have seemed to them incompatible, as a matter of right, with the Royal Supremacy which they recognized as the basis of their Church, and, as a matter of fact, with the consciousness they had of their own fallibility, their want of union, and their lack of authority. Moreover, the High Church party had reason to fear that such a tribunal would not be favourable to their ideas. One of the solutions suggested was to fall back upon a mixed tribunal, and to add to the Privy Council lawyers, a certain number of Bishops, not as assessors, but as judges; but on reflection Wilberforce and his friends were inclined to fear that the plan would be more compromising than efficacious, and that there would be a danger of making the Church share in the responsibility for judgments which it would be better to leave to the State. After all, it seemed that there was nothing to be done but to submit to the *statu quo*, and to recognize that a remedy—necessary and urgent as it was—could not be discovered.

Some of the Bishops, far from regretting this failure, found in it a cause of rejoicing, as they saw in the *statu quo* the normal application of the principle of Anglicanism. Among the leaders of this way of thinking was Tait. We have already mentioned him as a Fellow

in the Balliol Common Room, impregnated with the Scotch Presbyterianism which he had brought from Glasgow, a close and critical observer of the Tractarian Movement, then in its infancy, and one of the very few young Oxonians absolutely unmoved by the influence of Newman. Appointed in 1842 to the headmastership of Rugby, he was handicapped by coming immediately after Arnold, whom he was far from equalling, and his reign was not a brilliant success. In 1849 he had become Dean of Carlisle, from which post he was raised by Lord Palmerston, in 1856, to the Bishopric of London. The new prelate was not without ambition, nor did he affect any ascetic detachment from the good things of this world. When asked by Ward if he "did not feel the responsibility of the position to be very heavy," "I do," he replied; then, after a pause, he added, "but I must in frankness add that its surroundings are *very* agreeable."[1] He had embraced the ecclesiastical career, as he would have embraced any other, with a determination to fulfil its duties worthily and with exactness, but without any idea of a supernatural vocation. He was more a State functionary than an ecclesiastic, and anything savouring of clericalism or sacerdotalism was repugnant to him. On the other hand, he was by no means wanting in faith or even piety. His diary proves that his thoughts were fixed upon God to a greater degree than one would have suspected, and we find him imploring the Divine help in trials, and, especially after his appointment as Bishop, praying for grace to fulfil the duties of his position and to be guarded from all worldliness.[2]

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 74.

[2] *Life of Tait*, by Davidson and Benham, *passim*. See especially vol. i., pp. 186, 190, 192.

Tait's nomination to the See of London was gratifying alike to the Evangelicals and the Liberals, to Lord Shaftesbury and to Stanley. Whilst making himself agreeable to both parties, he took care not to be identified with either. The most marked feature of his policy was his absolute opposition to the High Church school, and this, without doubt, made him a favourite with men of other opinions. He looked upon the High Church idea as a contradiction to the principles and traditions of Anglicanism, and it goes without saying that he disliked "Popery." In his hostility to the High Church party, however, it was rather remarkable that he evinced less repugnance towards its adherents as a body than towards individuals, such as Wilberforce and others. At the time of the so-called "Papal Aggression" he had refused to join a "Protestant Alliance" on the ground that it savoured of something too sectarian and intolerant.[1] To the end of his life he remained on terms of affectionate familiarity with those of his Oxford friends who had joined the Catholic Church, such as Ward and Oakeley.[2]

[1] "My opinion," he wrote, "as far as I am yet informed, is strong that Popery in this country is better met by every Protestant clergyman and layman zealously doing his duty in the position God has assigned him than by the agitation which seems implied in the formation of a society for the defence of Protestantism" (*Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 183, 184).

[2] He wrote in his diary under the date of February 10, 1880: "On Monday read in the paper before opening my letters the death of dear Frederick Oakeley, at one time my nearest and dearest, and always one of my most revered friends. How I felt the separation caused by his secession to Rome! Many years have kept us apart, but always since I came to London I have tried to see him often, and these renewals of old intimacy have been very precious. He was a man of God, and sacrificed all the world holds dear to conscience. Sad that it should have led him astray!" (*Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 525).

His mind was fixed more upon questions of government than of doctrine, and he was deeply shocked at the attempts of the High Church party to change the relations between the Church and the State. His thorough and unhesitating Erastianism forbade him to regard the Church as an independent society instituted by God. In his view it was simply a department of the State, whose duty it was to maintain the beliefs and practices sanctioned by Parliament. Naturally, therefore, he had no sympathy with Wilberforce in his efforts to restore Convocation or to reform the tribunal of appeal in matters of religion. In one of the episcopal conferences of 1857, where these questions were debated, he declared that the Queen was theologically the Head of the Church, whose duty it was, in this capacity, to decide points of doctrine; that the appeal is from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and *in pari materiâ* to the Queen, and that on this principle depended the union of the Church and the State.[1] That this was his fixed view was shown by his word, spoken in the following year, on the subject of missionary Bishops. He was asked whether these prelates could be consecrated by Colonial Bishops, or whether the Queen was the sole fountain of jurisdiction. Tait held the latter opinion. "Bishops in Roman Catholic countries," he said, "were sent by the Pope; in our country the Bishops should be sent by the Queen, who stood in the same place as the Pope."[2] Wilberforce in protesting against this view, had no difficulty in showing that it gave colour to the accusations of Catholics

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 355, 356. These ideas have found later expression by Protestants, as witness Doctor Jessop's words in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1896.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

against the English Church;[1] but it was difficult for him to deny that it was the logical consequence of the schism which substituted the Royal Supremacy for that of the Pope.

Wilberforce and Tait came to be regarded in the public mind as the champions on the Episcopal Bench of two antagonistic schools, and they were at least as unlike in their character and temperament as in their views. Wilberforce was expansive and exuberant; pliable to a degree that sometimes made people suspect his straightforwardness; of a passionate sensibility, capable alike of generous sympathy and of unfair animosities; a brilliant orator, full of fire and abounding in rhetorical resource. Tait, on the other hand, was a man of fixed opinions, precise, keen, and a little dry. There was in him no vein of poetry, and he himself avowed that he was incapable of enthusiasm. Less given to words than to action, his nature was not so much passionate as energetic and persevering. Both men were born leaders, exercising great influence over their episcopal colleagues, their clergy, and even statesmen. For many years they figured as opponents on all public questions, and in the direction of the English Church.

IV

It was impossible for Wilberforce to befriend the High Church without drawing nearer to Pusey. After the recriminating letters of 1850 and 1851, he had gradually come to work in union with Pusey; and if the Bishop occasionally disagreed with Pusey, he expressed himself in

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 39, 52, 53.

amicable terms. This was a great comfort to Pusey, who suffered much from the shortcomings of other Bishops.

In 1857 the Bill to legalize divorce and the re-marriage of divorced persons was introduced into Parliament. Up to that date divorce had not been recognized by law. For each individual case a special Act of Parliament had been necessary, and the enormous expense entailed resulted in divorce being the monopoly of the rich. The new Bill sought to extend this doubtful privilege to all classes of the community, thus putting divorce within the reach of all. Pusey and his friends were among the most determined opponents of the measure. Keble published a pamphlet against it. Gladstone fought it, clause by clause, in the House of Commons. But in the Upper House the Bishops made a miserable figure. Several—among them the Primate and Tait—supported the Bill, and thus powerfully contributed to its passing into law, notwithstanding Wilberforce's opposition.[1] The scandal caused by the conduct of the Episcopal Bench was prolonged; it continues even to this day. In the face of those who defend the law of Christ by protests often uttered aloud in Church, the Bishops still persist in authorizing members of their clergy to perform the marriage service over divorced persons, even the guilty party.

Nor was it only on a moral and social principle that Pusey had the misery of seeing the rulers of his Church play the part of traitors. On dogmas which he looked upon as essential—on the Eucharist, for instance—he found them adopting an uncertain, pusillanimous, and even hostile attitude. In 1853, when called upon to preach

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 342-349; *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 210-214.

before the University of Oxford, he boldly selected for his subject the doctrine of the Eucharist, the very one which, in analogous circumstances had led to his condemnation ten years before. This he did against the advice of several friends, including Keble. Far from being deterred by the suspicions with which he was surrounded, he became all the more determined to confess his faith. In terms more didactic than before, he reasserted the doctrines of his former sermon, affirming the real, objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist, distinguishing this doctrine, however, from that of the Catholic Church on Transubstantiation. He and his friends were not without some anxiety as to the consequences of this sermon. Contrary to their expectation, the sermon caused neither denunciation nor prosecution.[1] But if people concluded from this that the doctrine of the Real Presence was at last accepted or even tolerated in the Church of England they were not long in finding out it was an illusion.

At the end of 1853 and the early part of 1854, one of the most ardent controversialists of the "Anglo-Catholic" party, Archdeacon Denison, preached a course of sermons in Wells Cathedral on the doctrine of the Real Presence. He was immediately denounced on a charge of heresy by a clergyman in the neighbourhood, acting under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. Certain features of the procedure led to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner, taking the place of the diocesan as judge in the case. The charges were based principally upon the two assertions of the Archdeacon: 1. That in the Real though invisible Presence in the Holy Eucharist, worship was due to the Body and Blood of Christ, under the

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 422-426.

appearance of bread and wine. 2. That in the Eucharist, evil-doers and unbelievers receive the Body and Blood of Christ. Pusey and Keble were much distressed at this prosecution. The former saw in it a sign that the Low Church party were going to wage "a war of extermination" against himself and his friends. The latter declared that if the doctrine now denounced were declared untenable in the Church of England, a far more serious question would arise concerning the reality of its communion with the Universal Church than had yet arisen. Both Pusey and Keble sought every possible means to help Denison in his defence of the faith. But so great was the dogmatic uncertainty existing among even the choice spirits of Anglicanism, that Pusey and Keble were hard put to it to agree between themselves about the doctrines under dispute. Pusey would willingly have waived the question of Adoration, to secure the teaching of the Real Presence in the communion of evil-doers; while Keble, who was full of ardour for Adoration, was not free from doubt upon the other question. Meanwhile, the trial took its course, and, on June 22, 1855, after various adjournments, the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by assessors whom he had appointed, pronounced that, on the two disputed points, the language of Archdeacon Denison was contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England. Time was allowed him for retractation, but shortly after, Denison having declared that it was not in his power to retract, he was finally condemned and deprived of his living and his archdeaconry.

This event spread consternation in the ranks of the Puseyites. The Church's orthodoxy seemed to them more compromised than on the occasion of the Gorham

Case, for this time the judgment had come, not from a mere civil court, but from an Episcopal tribunal. Indignant criticisms were published on what Keble, departing for once from his habitual moderation, called "this miserable judgment," and much alarm was felt as to the effect it was likely to produce on troubled consciences. There were rumours of fresh secessions to Rome. Something must be done to remedy the evil and to avert the danger. After much discussion, the whole agitation culminated in a protest, in which Keble, Pusey, and sixteen other signatories declared that the condemned doctrines had been generally admitted by the Church, and appealed from the judgment to a synod of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and, if needful, to a free synod of all the churches of their communion. This protest was unfavourably received by the Bishops, even by those who were not regarded as hostile to the High Church party. The sole exception was the Bishop of Exeter. Wilberforce, whose attitude in the whole affair had been embarrassed, dissuaded his friends from signing, not because he approved of the judgment, but because he disapproved equally of some of Denison's assertions, which seemed to him to approach too nearly to Roman doctrine. Among the inferior clergy many were disturbed and discontented, without being able to agree upon the line of action to follow, or upon the demonstrations that should be made. "*Quot homines tot sententiæ*," observed Pusey with a sigh, as he left off trying to obtain signatures to the protest. The eighteen signatories proclaimed, in reply to certain rumours, that they intended to remain in the Church of England. In making the protest, they explained, they had

merely meant to relieve their consciences; they did not regard a decision of the Archbishop as modifying the doctrine of the Church or binding their faith. Nothing could effect this but a decree emanating from the whole Church, and they expressed their determination to teach as they had ever taught, be the consequences what they might. Besides the protest, Pusey published a treatise on the *Real Presence*, and Keble another on *Eucharistical Adoration*.

Meantime Denison exhausted every legal means to obtain a reversal of the judgment, and he was so far successful that in 1857 the Court of Arches, and in 1858 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, without pronouncing on the main issue, annulled the sentence of privation on the ground that there had been a flaw in the procedure. The Archdeacon therefore escaped the penalties inflicted upon him, but the scandal caused by the Primate's denial of the integrity of the Eucharistic dogma was not obliterated.[1]

Scarcely had the Denison affair ended before a similar conflict broke out. The Rev. A. P. Forbes, at one time Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, one of Pusey's closest adherents, had been appointed Bishop of Brechin, in Scotland. Recent controversies had suggested the doctrine of the Eucharist as the subject of his first Charge, delivered in August, 1857. Among other points, he insisted that the Eucharist Sacrifice is substantially the same as that offered on the Cross; and, further, he maintained, with Denison, that supreme adoration is due

[1] On the Denison affair see *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 426-448; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 234-240, and 320-329; and *Notes of My Life*, by Archdeacon Denison, pp. 222-267.

to the Body and Blood of Christ, mysteriously present in the consecrated elements. The other Bishops of the Scottish Episcopalian Church were much disturbed by this Charge. Towards the end of 1857, three of their number, among them the Primate, made a public protest, and in 1858 was issued a joint Pastoral Letter by the whole body of Bishops, blaming the Bishop of Brechin's Charge. The passages on Sacrifice and Adoration were particularly marked out for censure as being ill-sounding and anti-Scriptural.

As soon as they heard that Forbes was attacked, Pusey and Keble lost no time in coming to their friend's assistance. Keble eagerly joined in the fray, identifying himself with the Bishop, and publishing a book upon the disputed doctrine. Distinguished laymen, such as Coleridge and Gladstone, tried in vain to intervene as peace-makers. The contest waxed more and more fierce. Some of the clergy who adhered to the doctrines taught by the Bishop of Brechin were prosecuted, and Pusey, who was already suffering from illness, saw with alarm the length to which matters were going, and began to fear the worst. The Scottish Bishops, indeed, were not content with publishing a Pastoral Letter. They took upon themselves the office of judges, and cited their colleague to appear before them. Pusey expected that they would proceed to depose him, and he urged Forbes not to submit to such an act. No orthodox Bishop, he declared, would have given up his see because an Arian deposed him.

The Bishops met in synod in March, 1856. But the negotiations which had preceded the meeting made them averse from going to extremes, and they unanimously agreed that on the question of the identity of the

Sacrifice of the Cross with that of the Eucharist, as well as on the Adoration due to the Body and Blood of Christ in the elements, "the teaching of the respondent there complained of is unsanctioned by the Articles and formularies of the Church, and is to a certain extent inconsistent therewith." But "in consideration of the explanations and modifications offered by the respondent in his answers to the first charge" and also to the fact that he "now only asks toleration for his opinions, and does not claim for them the authority of the Church or any right to enforce them," the Bishops consented to limit their sentence to a declaration of censure and admonition. "We do now solemnly admonish," they added, "and in all brotherly love entreat, the Bishop of Brechin to be more careful for the future, so that no fresh occasion may be given for trouble and offence, such as have arisen from the delivery and publication of the Primary Charge to his clergy complained of in the presentment."

This sentence, while in a measure sparing Forbes, was none the less grievous to his friends. Pusey complained that the Bishops, to justify their comparative leniency had exaggerated the explanations of the accused and had attributed to him a kind of retractation which he had not made. Moreover, besides the personal question, there remained the far graver matter of the doctrine. In presence of this judgment, following so soon after that of the Archbishop in the case of Denison, there was no disguising the fact that the authorities of the Church were opposed, on a question of vital importance, to what Pusey regarded as the true Catholic Doctrine.[1]

[1] On the Forbes affair see *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 448-459; and Lock's *Life of Keble*, pp. 164-168.

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF CATHOLICISM

(1851—1858)

I. The storm caused by the so-called "Papal Aggression" gradually subsides—Wiseman's efforts to bring Catholics into touch with the national life—His lectures—Newman's sermons: *Christ upon the Waters; The Second Spring.* II. Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics* delivered in Birmingham—Their effect—The Achilli trial—Newman's condemnation. III. Newman is appointed Rector of the Catholic University of Dublin—His ideas of what a Catholic University should be—The difficulties of his position compel his resignation. IV. Wiseman hastens to make use of the abilities of the new converts Oakeley, Faber, and Ward—Speedy ordination of Manning—His sojourn in Rome—His return to London, where he at once plays an active part without holding any definite office—His relations with Wiseman—At Wiseman's desire, he founds the Oblates of St. Charles. V. Manning as spiritual director—His influence upon conversions—His correspondence with Robert Wilberforce, who ends by becoming a Catholic—Robert Wilberforce's death.

THE storm of Protestant intolerance which raged against the Catholic Church at the close of 1850 gradually wore itself out, and Catholics began to see that it had brought upon them more sound and fury than any positive harm. Their hierarchy was none the less an accomplished fact, while the Church was also enriched by a fresh influx of converts. Wiseman, who had so valiantly faced the storm, showed much tact in appeasing men's angry passions and leading them back to reason. Convinced as

he was that one of the great sources of weakness in the position of English Catholics lay in their social and intellectual isolation from their fellow-countrymen, and fearing that this might be increased by the recent crisis, he sought means to lessen the estrangement. With this end in view, he arranged to deliver courses of lectures before miscellaneous audiences upon secular subjects, such as Art, Science, Social Economy, Hygiene, and Philanthropic Reform. "My idea in consenting to attend," he explained, "was this: let us show Protestants that we can give the public as good an intellectual treat as they can, and prove as great an interest in the improvement of the people as they display."[1] He showed in these lectures a happy combination of dignity and ease, a great breadth of mind and a wide range of learning, enriched by a vein of poetry. The public found, to their no small surprise, that instead of being narrowed and dwarfed by his religion, this prelate was full of generous and intelligent sympathy for all that concerned his fellow-countrymen. From various quarters invitations reached him to speak before scientific and literary societies. The members who heard him were astonished to see that the lecturer possessed the appearance and manners of an English gentleman, instead of those which up to that time they had associated with the typical Roman ecclesiastic.[2] In this way he came to form a friendship with such persons as Brougham, Dickens, Kean the actor, the artist

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 51

[2] "He is a portly and 'comfortable'-looking man," said a local journal—the *Bath Chronicle*—on the day following the lecture, "with little of the appearance or the expression conventionally attributed to the priesthood of his Church; he is thoroughly English in feature and in accent" (*Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 49).

Stanfield, and others, besides gaining a popularity which was vouched for by the *Times* itself, and was necessarily reflected upon the other members of his communion. In the words of a leading Catholic, A. de Lisle, "The way that I hear your Eminence spoken of by men of all classes, from the statesman to the civil engineer, assures me that your Eminence's lectures upon general subjects are doing more—a thousand times more—than all the controversy in the world to win the heart of old England."[1] This popularity was increased later on by the brilliant success of his story *Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs*.[2]

It fell naturally to Newman's lot to help the Archbishop of Westminster in his efforts to win over English public opinion. In the comparative obscurity of his Birmingham home he was just then fully occupied in transferring the Oratory to the suburb of Edgbaston.[3] Thus he seemed to hold rather aloof from the world of men and things, and there were not wanting some who asked whether Rome had not lost something of her ancient sagacity in turning to the best advantage the materials at her hand. Such speculations were expressed by Protestants when they saw the distinguished preacher who had once held the University Church spellbound spending his genius and zeal upon the evangelization of

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 155.

[2] *Fabiola* was published in 1854.

[3] The building of the Edgbaston Oratory in place of the original house, which had proved too small, was the occasion of some strange rumours, and the *Times* revealed with much alarm that beneath the new buildings there were mysterious cells designed for the purpose of monastic prisons. Newman found it necessary to explain that the supposed cells were simply cellars and offices connected with the kitchen (see the *Times* of May 15, 1851).

some poor Irish labourers.[1] This lowly work, far from displeasing Newman, accorded well with his humility. At the same time he never shrank from more public duties, and in 1851 he gladly undertook to preach at the installation of Dr. Ullathorne as first Bishop of Birmingham. Notwithstanding the tempest through which the Church was still passing, the dominant note throughout the sermon was one of joy and triumph at the resuscitation of Catholicism in England. After recalling the memory of St. Athanasius returning from exile on the death of Julian the Apostate, and showing himself once more to his astonished flock seated on his throne and vested in his episcopal robes in the Cathedral of Alexandria, the preacher continued:

"So it is now; the Church is coming out of prison. . . . She comes out with pallium, and cope, and chasuble, and stole, and wonder-working relics, and holy images. Her Bishops are again in their chairs, and her priests sit round, and the perfect vision of a majestic hierarchy rises before our eyes. What an awful vitality is here! . . . She claims, she seeks, she desires no temporal power, no secular station; she meddles not with Cæsar or the things of Cæsar; she obeys him in his place, but she is independent of him. Her strength is in her God. . . . What will ye do with her, ye sons of men?"

But Newman was under no illusion as to the trials that were to come upon the Church of England—trials which were even then assailing it with so much violence. The consciousness of them lent a peculiar note of gravity to his words:

[1] This was the reflection of a Birmingham journalist, who at this date heard Newman deliver a brilliant discourse before a congregation of some forty people, for the most part illiterate (see *Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 62).

"We rejoice surely, but solemnly, religiously, courageously, as the priests of the Lord when they were carrying into battle 'the ark of the Lord, the God of the whole earth. . . .' We love you, O men of this generation, but we fear you not. Understand well and lay it to heart, that we will do the work of God and fulfil our mission, with your consent, if we can get it, but, in spite of you, if we cannot. . . . We do but wish to subdue you by appeals to your reason and to your heart; give us but a fair field and due time, and we hope to gain our point. I do not say that we shall gain it in this generation; I do not say we shall gain it without our own suffering; but we look on to the future, and we do not look at ourselves. As to ourselves, the world has long ago done its worst against us. . . . In the way of obloquy and ridicule it has exhausted upon us long since all it had to pour. . . . We know our place and our fortunes: to give a witness and to be reviled; to be cast out as evil, and to succeed. Such is the law which the Lord of all has annexed to the promulgation of the truth: its preachers suffer, but its cause prevails. Joyfully have we become a party to this bargain; and as we have resigned ourselves to the price, so we intend, by God's aid, to claim the compensation."

Then, turning towards his brethren in the faith, Newman exhorted them not to fear the trials that should come upon them, and he reminded them how Our Lord went to meet St. Peter on the waves.

"Let us be true to ourselves, and the blustering wind will drop, the furious sea will calm. No, I fear not, my brethren, this momentary clamour of our foe; I fear not this great people, among whom we dwell, of whose blood we come . . . who still, despite the loss of heavenly gifts, retain the love of justice, manly bearing, and tenderness of heart which Gregory saw in their faces."

In the following year, when the new hierarchy of England were assembled at Oscott for their first synod, Newman was once more called upon to preach. In this sermon

he celebrated what he called "The Second Spring of the Church of England." In the ordinary course, he observed, while nature is renewed with the advent of spring, man and his works perish, never to return. But what a contradiction to the usual law was witnessed that day! For here was an event so marvellous and so unlooked-for that it justified the emotion they felt. It was a common saying that the past never returned. "The past *has* returned, the dead lives. . . . The English Church was, and the English Church was not, and the English Church is once again." The preacher then went on successively to depict the splendour of the ancient English Church, then its destruction, and lastly the miracle of its revival, of which the ceremonies of the synod were a manifestation. "Shall the past," he cried, "be rolled back? Shall the grave open?" And then follows a song of love and victory for which ordinary language seems too cold, for the preacher has to borrow the burning words of the Song of Songs. The audience was enthralled; Wiseman listened with tears that he could not control coursing down his cheeks.

II

Newman was one of the most sensitive of men, and he felt with especial keenness any slur cast upon his religious faith. Unlike those who had been Catholics all their lives, he was not accustomed to unpopularity. Still it caused him neither fear nor discouragement. The eminent position which he once occupied in the eyes of the world gave an added weight to his words when he attacked the prejudices of Englishmen against the Catholic Church. It was therefore with special confidence of his words being listened to that he delivered in the Corn

Exchange, Birmingham, his series of nine lectures on "The Present Position of Catholics in England." In 1851, when the public mind was still agitated by the so-called Papal Aggression, he spoke as follows:

"I am going to inquire why it is, that, in this intelligent nation and in this nineteenth century, we Catholics are so despised and hated by our own countrymen. . . . Why they are prompt to believe any story, however extravagant, that is told to our disadvantage; as if beyond a doubt, we were, every one of us, either brutishly deluded or preternaturally hypocritical, and they themselves, on the contrary, were in comparison of us absolute specimens of sagacity, wisdom, uprightness, manly virtue, and enlightened Christianity? I am not inquiring why they are not Catholics themselves, but why they are so angry with those who are."

Newman explained that his experience, as having been once a Protestant and now being a Catholic, gave him good grounds for forming an opinion. His tone is not plaintive and humble. It is an outspoken appeal to justice, truth, and good sense. He deals with precise facts keenly analyzed, with living portraits which everyone can recognize at once as types of contemporary English character. A merciless light is thrown upon the senseless and hateful prejudices against his Church, as well as on their colossal ignorance about all that concerns it. "Verily, were the Catholic Church in the moon," said Newman, "England would gaze on her with more patience, and delineate her with more accuracy, than England does now." That scathing irony in which Newman excelled pervades his sentences. He had forgotten, he said, that Catholic priests were not men, that they had no honour to lose, that they had no feelings to be wounded. They were merely abstractions, shadows,

heraldic figures. Newman's object was not merely to expose the intolerance of Protestants. He wished more especially to instil confidence and courage into the hearts of Catholics; and this he did in the last of his lectures:

"Your one and almost sole object, I say, must be, to make yourselves known. This is what will do everything for you; it is what your enemies will try by might and main to hinder. . . . They have thought, not only that you were the vilest and basest of men, but that you were fully conscious of it yourselves, and conscious, too, that they knew it. . . . What would be their astonishment if one of the infamous persons I have supposed stood upon his rights or obtruded himself into the haunts of fashion and good breeding? Fancy, then, how great has been their indignation that we Catholics should pretend to be Britons; should affect to be their equals; should dare to preach—nay, to controvert; should actually make converts —nay, worse and worse, not only should point out their mistakes, but, prodigious insolence! should actually laugh at the absurdity of their assertions and the imbecility of their arguments. They are at first unable to believe their ears, when they are made sensible that we, who know so well our own worthlessness, and know that they know it, who deserve at the least the hulks or transpotation, talk as loudly as we do, refuse to be still and say that the more we are known the more we shall be esteemed. Passion succeeds, and then a sort of fear . . . and then how white becomes their wrath, when men of their own rank—men of intelligence, men of good connections, their relations or their friends—leave them to join the despised and dishonoured company! And then, as time goes on, more and more such instances occur . . . and new questions and parties appear in the distance, and a new world is coming in. . . . They quake with apprehension at so mysterious a visitation. . . . A proud jealousy, a wild hate, and a perplexed dismay, almost choke them with emotion. . . . You would think that they had at last gained an opening for information when those whom they had known became witnesses of what we are.

Never so little; the friends who have left them are an embarrassment to them, not an illumination; an embarrassment, because they do but interfere with their received rule and practice of dealing with us. . . . Were a recent convert, whose name is before the world, accused of some definite act of tyranny or baseness, he knows how to write and act in his defence, and he has a known reputation to protect him; therefore, ye Protestant champions, if there be an urgent need at the moment for some instance of Catholic duplicity or meanness, be sure to shoot your game sitting. . . . Let it be a prelate of advanced age and of retired habits, or some gentle nun, whose profession and habits are pledges that she cannot retaliate. . . . But beware of the converts, for they are known; and to them you will not be safe in imputing more than the ordinary infirmities of humanity. With them you must deal in the contrary way. . . . Cover them up, bury them; never mention them in print, unless a chance hint can be dropped to their disadvantage. Shake your heads, whisper about in society, and detail in private letters the great change which has come over them. They are not the same persons; they have lost their fine sense of honour, and so suddenly, too. . . . Read none of their books . . . let not even their works be advertised . . . that you may keep up that profound ignorance of the Catholic religion which the ascendancy of Protestantism requires."

Protestants were by no means accustomed to hear such words from Catholic lips. Newman was a man whose utterances were necessarily listened to, and many of his hearers were amused at his telling satire.[1] For the first time the English public realized in a very uncomfortable way how unjust and ridiculous their prejudices had been and how bigoted and Pharisaical had been their intolerance. Many of them became ashamed, but others were

[1] Among others, George Eliot spoke of the "great amusement" with which she read Newman's "clever satire" (see *Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 63).

more enraged than repentant, and these sought means of revenging themselves. It was not long before an opportunity occurred.

In the course of his lectures Newman had attacked a certain Achilli, an Italian ex-Dominican who had for some time been engaged in retailing, in Ireland and England, amid the applause of Protestant mobs, calumnies of an odious kind against the Catholic Church. In a terrible passage, which in later editions was suppressed, Newman showed that this pretended witness, on whose testimony English public opinion thought itself justified in condemning the Church, was a man who had led a scandalous life, who was unworthy of credit. In this he was but repeating what had been affirmed a short time before by a writer in the *Dublin Review*. Achilli, trusting to the Protestant prejudice which he knew was on his side, felt that audacity was his safest course, and he proceeded against Newman on a charge of criminal libel. Newman, in preparing his defence, counted upon proofs which Wiseman had assured him were in his possession, but they reached him too late. Lord Chief Justice Campbell scarcely disguised his hostility to the defendant, while outside opinion, which was vehemently excited, was ready to welcome anything that might humiliate Catholics. In spite of the witnesses who bore testimony to the licentiousness of his adversary, Newman was convicted, in June, 1852, and sentenced to a heavy fine, and at one time he even feared imprisonment. The verdict, though it satisfied Protestant fanatics, was disapproved by more liberal-minded men. Even the *Times* declared that the result of the trial was a deep stain upon the administration of justice in England. At the

end of the same year the Court of Queen's Bench ordered a stay of judgment, in view of appeal. These proceedings revived the prejudice which had actuated Lord Campbell at the trial. Mr. Justice Coleridge, who presided at the new trial, was a man of Puseyite leanings. His attitude towards Newman was more gentle, nor did he contest his good faith. Still he did not fully justify him. After delivering a kind of homily, recommending moderation and charity, he upheld the fine, reducing it, however, to a hundred pounds, and ordered the defendant to be imprisoned until the fine was paid, as it was on the spot. There still remained the costs of the suit, which reached a sum of no less than twelve thousand pounds. To meet this Wiseman, who was anxious to repair the injury he had unwittingly done in failing to supply Newman with proofs for his defence, opened subscriptions in England and on the Continent, and by these means the costs of the trial were quickly paid. Newman was much touched with this generosity, and expressed his gratitude in a letter to Wiseman.[1] To Newman this affair was a heavy trial. Nothing could be more distasteful to his sensitive nature than anxiety as to the uncertainties of judicial proceedings.

But what he felt most keenly was to see his testimony rejected by juries, judges, and the great mass of public opinion, in favour of the testimony of a man of tarnished character like Achilli. He needed all his piety to bear what he himself described as "his most severe cross," and to enable him to say with St. Andrew: "*O bona crux, diu desiderata.*"[2] While the result of the trial still hung in

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 41, 42.

[2] Letter to Ward on November 26, 1851 (*Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 40).

the balance, the Fathers of the London Oratory, with whom he was staying, were much edified at seeing him pass nearly all his days, and even part of his nights, in prayer before the Tabernacle.[1] He was solaced in this trial by the fidelity of friends. Hope-Scott, the eminent lawyer, who had recently become a Catholic, gave him the benefit of his legal skill, and at the close of 1852 invited him to rest for a few weeks at Abbotsford. Newman was glad to visit the house rendered famous by Sir Walter Scott, for whom he had ever cherished feelings of gratitude and admiration, and to whose Waverley Novels he partly attributed the revival of Catholic ideas.

III

A man of Newman's genius could not be allowed to act only as a preacher and lecturer, and he was now called upon to undertake a still greater work. The Bishops of Ireland were attempting at this time to establish in Dublin a purely Catholic University which should furnish the faithful, not in Ireland only, but throughout the United Kingdom, with the higher education of which they had been deprived since the Reformation. To complete this most difficult work, the Bishops considered that they could not do better than offer the post of Rector of the University to Newman. This was in 1851. Newman consented on the condition that he need not sever himself from the Oratory, and that half the year only was to be spent in Dublin, the rest at Edgbaston. On this understanding, he immediately applied himself with eagerness to the work, and in 1852 he delivered in Dublin a series of lectures in which he drew out a splendid programme

[1] *Life of Faber*, p. 388.

of what ought to constitute a Catholic University.[1] While unreservedly acclaiming Theology as the queen of sciences, as the principle of their unity, and as the master-key of higher teaching and a reaction against the generally secular tendency of University training, he nevertheless insisted upon the vast and untrammelled scope which science ought to enjoy, and on the expediency of training young men to exercise to the full the force of their intellect so as to enable them to face the problems which they would have to confront in their after career.

In carrying out this work, Newman did not count upon getting much help from the old Catholic clergy, still less from those of Ireland, whose zeal was greater than their learning. In default of Manning, Ward, and Henry Wilberforce, who for one reason or another were unable to respond to his appeal, he engaged the services of several other converts—notably Allies, Aubrey de Vere, and later on of one of Arnold's sons—Thomas Arnold, who had become a Catholic in 1856. The difficulties were very great. Newman had no idea of founding a purely Irish institution; on the contrary, his ambition was to attract the flower of the Catholic youth of England. But, however great his authority was over his fellow-countrymen, he could not force them to send their children to Dublin for education, or overcome their repugnance to and their disdain of everything Irish. And, on the other side, if the Irish Bishops had been unanimous in the choice of a Rector, he was none the less an Englishman, formerly a Protestant and an Oxford man, all these qualifications giving rise to antipathy, suspicion, and jealousy from their point of view.

[1] These lectures have been published under the title, *On the Idea of a University.*

Besides this, their intellectual training had not been such as to fit them to understand Newman's views as to the necessity of being broad-minded with regard to youth and science; they were specially anxious because of the danger to faith they thought they foresaw. Hence, there arose a certain mistrust which often hindered the Rector's task. His status as an ordinary priest did not bestow on him the requisite authority to cope with episcopal opposition. Wiseman had foreseen this; in the winter of 1853-54 he corresponded with Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, on the advisability of obtaining for Newman a titular bishopric, and thus putting him on a par with the Irish Bishops. The idea of Newman's nomination was well received in Rome; it was even announced as a reality, and Newman himself received congratulations. He wrote to Dr. Grant of Southwark: "I could never have thought that any circumstances would have made me rejoice to be elected Bishop, but it is so. I am pleased, because I do not see how I can overcome the inertia and opposition which exist in Ireland towards a University unless my position is of greater importance." What happened? The nomination, which appeared to be quite decided, did not take place. Newman, however, was not discouraged, and still continued in the same way for many years. Difficulties, however, increased. But in 1858 he was forced to admit to himself that he could no longer carry on the work, and in sadness and silence he gave it up. He went to Edgbaston to the Oratory and undertook a less onerous task—that of a school for the higher classes; he wished to combine a thoroughly Catholic education with a thoroughly English one. In most of the Catholic colleges of the time, specially in those of the Jesuits, there

was a foreign spirit in the education.[1] Deprived of the only man capable of insuring her future success, the Dublin University did not fulfil its early promise.

IV

Wiseman, far from distrusting the growing influence of the converts, as was the case with certain old Catholics, encouraged it. Whilst he was pleased with anything that Newman did, he tried also to employ several of his friends. He appointed Oakeley a Canon of Westminster. He gave his support in the most friendly way to Father Faber, Superior of the London Oratory, who was renovating the spiritual life of English Catholics and reanimating among them practices of devotion long since fallen into abeyance. Having preached the panegyric of St. Philip Neri at the Oratory, he published it with a dedication to Newman and Faber. "One," he said, "has brought the resources of the most varied learning and the vigour of a keenly acute mind, power of argument, and grace of language, to grapple with the intellectual difficulties and break down the strongly-built prejudices of strangers to the Church. The other has gathered within her gardens sweet flowers of devotion for her children; and taught them, in thoughts that glow and words that burn, to prize the banquet which love has spread for their refreshment."

Wiseman even found a way of utilizing the services of

[1] Some years afterwards Newman, in conversation with Church, congratulated himself on the good effect which the example of his own school at Edgbaston had in this respect on other Catholic schools, in making them "less continental in their ways and more English, as in trusting boys and giving up *espionage*" (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 170).

W. G. Ward, who, as already related, was married and somewhat eccentric. To the surprise of many and the scandal of some, he had chosen him in October, 1851, as Professor of Philosophy, and soon afterwards Professor of Theology, at St. Edmund's College, the seminary of the dioceses of Westminster and Southwark. Since his conversion, Ward had lived in retirement in this college, absorbed in his theological studies, and because of them neglecting the large property which he had inherited. He threw himself into his new duties with ardour and with the overpowering impetuosity which sometimes characterized him; for he was conscious of the importance of the sacerdotal training in which he was helping, and was anxious to strengthen the piety and sharpen the intellect of his pupils. His teaching and his vivifying instructions, given in an unaccustomed way, charmed the young students and obtained a hold over them. In order to grasp this complex mind, we must add that this co-educator of priests, occupied with the things of God, most sincerely pious, and much inclined towards asceticism, did not lose any the less his old passion for the theatre and for novels. He would escape from his work to London to enjoy some opera, and his clerical visitors would at times be inclined to be shocked at the comedies and French novels that were seen on his table. Ward did not bother himself about any adverse criticism, and was not slow in justifying himself.[1]

Wiseman was as eager to find work for the converts

[1] To one who expressed surprise at seeing on his table a play of Sardou's side by side with books of piety, theology, and philosophy, Ward replied: "Look here; my power of work is unstable, and I pass through five different stages, for each of which I require a different book. In the morning, when I am fresh, I take Kleutgen;

who came into the Church after the Gorham Case as he had shown himself eager to help those of the great exodus of 1845. His welcome to the most important of the recent converts, Henry Edward Manning, was not only prompt and cordial, but even precipitate. Only three weeks had gone by after his reception before Manning received the tonsure, while on the following day he was admitted to the four minor orders. On May 25, when he had been a Catholic a little more than six weeks, he was ordained subdeacon, and on June 15 he became a priest. Wiseman made no secret of the unbounded confidence that he placed in Manning. "I look upon you," he said after the ordination ceremony, "as one of the firstfruits of the restoration of the hierarchy by our Holy Father Pius IX. Go forth, my son, and bring your brethren and fellow-countrymen by thousands and tens of thousands into the one true Fold of Christ."[1] On the following day Manning said his first Mass in the Jesuit Church, his assistant being Father de Ravignan, who happened at the time to be in London.

Manning was full of joy and gratitude to be thus welcomed to the priesthood, which he had always regarded as the necessary complement of his conversion. And yet it is a curious fact, and one that throws a vivid light upon the state of men's minds at that period, that the thought of entering the ranks of the Catholic clergy was a trial to him. It cost him a struggle to overcome the repugnance with which, as a high

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then I pass on to Newman; then to Planché; then to Trollope; at last, when my head is no longer good for anything, I turn to a French comedy."

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 633.

Anglican dignitary, he had been accustomed to look down upon the humble Catholic priests. Several years later he referred to this feeling of humiliation which he had experienced. "God knows," he wrote, "what it has cost me to be a priest, and to do the work of a priest, and to bear the name of a priest, here in the midst of kindred and old friends and the world in which I lived before. No one, I believe, had more sensitive shrinking from this peculiar stage of trials. . . . It was only that I believed that my salvation probably depends upon pressing onward in correspondence with every motion of grace that could have brought me to it."[1]

By Wiseman's advice, he proceeded, in the autumn of 1851, to Rome, to complete his theological studies. Thus, at the age of forty-four, he was to return, to use his own expression, to the bib and tucker of a seminarist. The trial, painful as it was, had its compensations. In the best ecclesiastical society of Rome he made acquaintances which were useful and agreeable. Pius IX. received him with a fatherly welcome. "I bless you with all my heart," he said, "*in tuo egressu et in tuo ingressu*"; and it became an established custom for the Pope to receive him once a month in private audience and to chat familiarly with him. It was the beginning of a favour which was strengthened as the years went on. Even in this time of preparation Manning found scope for a generous exercise of his apostolic zeal. Each year, when the heat of summer drove him from Rome, he returned to England, where he speedily became famous as a preacher. More rapidly than any other convert, he completely assimilated the doctrine, practice and, so, to

[1] Letter of April 1, 1856 (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 46).

speak, the temperament of the Catholic Church. In 1852 he was chosen to follow Newman as preacher before the First Provincial Synod of Westminster, and in the same year he delivered in St. George's Cathedral, before an audience for the most part Protestant, a series of conferences on the grounds of Faith, in which he threw a vivid light upon the shortcomings of Anglicanism. Though lacking the subtle penetration, the profound originality, and the incomparable fascination of Newman, his words were invested with an austere dignity, a sustained emotion, and, above all, a practical efficacy which was the hall-mark of a man of action, unswerving and ardent in pursuing the aim of his life.

When three years had been thus spent, divided between his studies in Rome and his apostolate in England, the question of Manning's permanent abode had to be decided. Pius IX. would willingly have kept him in Rome, for from their first meeting the Pope had conceived a strong liking for him, but Wiseman begged earnestly that he might not be deprived of one from whom he hoped so much, and Pius IX. yielded to his entreaties, and, accordingly, in 1854, Manning settled definitely in London. A note in his private diary shows us what was in his mind at the outset of this new life. He did not disguise from himself that he desired to attain to a position of influence analogous to that which he had held in the Anglican Church, and he knew that his friends shared the same desire. "But," he added, "God being my helper, I will not seek it by the lifting of a finger or the speaking of a word. If it is ever to be, it shall be either by the invitation of superiors or by the choice of others."[1]

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 17.

Manning had no definite office at first, but his work was no less active. His time was divided between preaching, occasional intervention in ecclesiastical affairs, and negotiations with leading statesmen. This kind of work suited Manning well. It was precisely in this respect that he differed from Newman, who would never come out of his shell if he could avoid it. In Manning's view, the Catholic Church was, before all things, a Government, a Society, an Army which had to be organized and maintain its proper position in England; and his views as to what this position should be have been justified by after events. He believed that it was not merely possible, but necessary, that the social status of Catholics in this country should be completely transformed. The old school of priests, such as they existed when he first joined their ranks, were not prepared for this transformation. No longer, in his view, ought priests, especially secular priests, to be satisfied to act as chaplain in some rich manor-house or as pastor of some small congregation of Irish labourers. But though he never doubted that he was right in the aim he had in view, he did not so clearly perceive the line to ollow. After ministering at Farm Street for several years, he withdrew with the intention of founding a Mission in a poor quarter of London. But he was in reality waiting, undecided as to his future, until Wiseman once more intervened with a suggestion.

The Cardinal felt an ever-growing confidence in the convert whom he had so speedily ordained. There was little in common between the two, and at first sight the contrast between them was glaring. Wiseman was an imposing personality, with a sanguine complexion, a blending of geniality and magnificence, and an appreciа-

tion of the good things of life. The exuberance of his natural gifts, his general lack of reserve, his ever active imagination, were combined with generous, but easily-wounded sensitiveness. His want of administrative ability was shown in the instability of his will, which was apt to bend under opposition. Manning, on the other hand, was a statesman and diplomatist, with a will strong and inflexible, an authority somewhat imperious, and austere dignity; a manner distinguished, but cold, and some remainder of the donnishness of the Anglican official which led him to be described to the Cardinal as "a parson from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet." Men so differently constituted could not expect to be free of a certain jarring or to be completely at ease together. None the less profoundly, however, did they recognize how necessary they were to each other and how much depended upon their co-operation, and the Cardinal's dearest wish was to draw closer the bonds of friendship between himself and the newly-ordained priest, and to open for him a wide field of action.

For a long time past Wiseman had complained with some bitterness that none of the religious communities whom he had welcomed to his diocese would undertake work which he looked upon as specially needed—notably, missions in the poorer districts of London. Each one pleaded the exigencies of its rules. The Cardinal, while expressing his respect for these rules, regretted their lack of "elasticity and power of adaptation," and he added with a mixture of irony and sadness: "Almost every religious community has no end of dispensations, some from fasting and abstinence, some from choir, all from the habit. . . . If you ask them

why all these exemptions, you are told the circumstances of the country require them. But who thinks of recurring to the same dispensing power of the Holy See for exemption and liberation from provisions as much intended for different countries as these, from restrictions on the power of doing good in the way that the country requires it?"[1] This feeling of disappointment led Wiseman to conceive the idea of a community of secular priests, acting completely under his orders—diocesan missionaries, ready at a moment's notice to carry out any work with which he might entrust them—and he further thought that Manning was precisely the man who ought to found such a community. He had already suggested the scheme to him in 1852 or 1853. At first Manning hesitated, "not," as he explained, "from unwillingness or disobedience, but from doubt of myself."[2] The Cardinal insisted, and in 1856 the scheme began to be set on foot. Guided by the rules which St. Charles Borromeo had framed for his Oblates, Manning laid the foundations of a community which he called the Oblates of St. Charles. Rome gave provisional approval, and a few priests responded to the appeal of the founder, and with their help Manning took in hand the hitherto neglected Mission of Bayswater, which Wiseman assigned to him. The work, begun with the utmost zeal, promised well; but Manning did not devote himself exclusively to it. Wiseman soon showed that he wished him to undertake something more important than this merely local work, by assigning to him some share in the general affairs of the diocese. Simul-

[1] These complaints were enlarged upon in a significant letter to Father Faber, dated October 27, 1852 (*Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 115 *et seq.*).

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 60.

taneously the Pope showed his confidence in Manning by appointing him Provost of the Chapter of Westminster.

V

The public influence which Manning now began to exert in the diocese was by no means his only work. Equally important was his influence as a spiritual director. Many Anglicans who were perplexed in matters of faith sought his help. He guided and aided them, and was the means of bringing about many of the conversions which were then more numerous than in 1845. His success gained him the *sobriquet* of the "Apostle of the Gentiles."[1] Unlike Newman, whose conversion did not bring over a single member of his family, Manning had the consolation of seeing his example followed by several of his relations, one of his brothers among them. His brother-in-law, Henry Wilberforce, had anticipated him by a few months. With others, indeed, his conversion produced complete and sorrowful estrangement. His renunciation of Protestantism was looked upon by his eldest brother as a breach of honour which he could never forgive, and all intercourse between them was broken off. There was a similar rupture between him and Bishop Wilberforce, as well as many of his intimate friends, Gladstone among others.[2] Manning considered it a duty to maintain an extreme reserve in dealing with his Anglican friends. From the moment that his relations with his old friends were, by his own act, so profoundly modified, he felt

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 191.

[2] The relations between Manning and Gladstone were not renewed until 1861, after a lapse of ten years (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 161, 162).

himself precluded from disturbing them by making any advance. Besides, he felt obliged to take care that no disrespect should be offered to the true Church in his person. Ready as he was to go halfway to meet any who showed any inclination to approach him, he refrained with proud reserve from making overtures to others, no matter how close had been their relations.[1]

What deepened this reserve in certain cases was the fear of encroaching upon the freedom of conscience of people whom he knew to be under the influence of Catholic ideas, and his extreme care not to draw them to the Catholic Church by the ties which his former position in the Church of England had provided. This delicacy was shown in his relations with two very dear friends of his, Sidney Herbert and his wife, to both of whom he had acted as spiritual director and confessor while still an Anglican. Immediately after his conversion he assured them in a letter that it would not be well for him to continue the old intimacy; that that intimacy had been too close to allow him to meet them on terms of ordinary friendship, and that he would make no advance towards them unless they themselves showed him the example. When they met, Manning did not refer to questions of religion; but one day, when Lady Herbert was paying him a visit, she could not resist kneeling down for his blessing as in old days. Manning gave it in silence. Later on, when she had become a widow, she felt more and more drawn towards Catholic truth. She again visited Manning, who continued to treat her with the

[1] His reason for this attitude is given in his published letter to Pusey, entitled *England and Christendom* (p. 126), and in a private note reproduced by Purcell in his *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 635.

same reserve, waiting until her conscience should be convinced by influence altogether independent of any which he might have exercised in other days. At length he perceived that the only remaining obstacle to her conversion was the fear of being deprived of the custody of her children. When she confided to Manning the anguish she felt on this account, he was silent for a few moments. Then he merely said: "Have you ever read the 'Life of Madame de Chantal?'" "Yes," she replied. "Then you will remember that that saintly woman, when she had determined to follow the inspiration of God, passed over the body of her son." This was his sole argument. Shortly afterwards Lady Herbert was received into the Church.

Manning watched with deep anxiety the progress towards Catholicism of his closest friend, Robert Wilberforce, Archdeacon of York. His family, his exalted character, his deep learning, his office as lieutenant to the Archbishop of York, combined to make Robert Wilberforce, as Manning himself had been, one of the most important personages in the Church of England, and one with the most brilliant future before him. Though disturbed by the same doubts that had influenced Manning, Wilberforce did not immediately follow his example. His wife and his brother, the Bishop of Oxford, succeeded in holding him back. But this did not interfere with his friendship with Manning, and letters continued to pass between them. The correspondence, on Manning's side at once pathetic and prudent, betrayed the writer's ardent longing for the conversion of his dear friend, and his fear lest Robert should resist grace and sin against the light, and at the same time it shows Manning's respect for his friend's

liberty of conscience, which he knew to be upright and pure. He enlarged upon the peace and light which his conversion had brought to his own soul, as well as upon the manifest inconsistency of Anglicanism, but at the same time he refrained from trying to force Robert to take a resolution which nothing but personal conviction could justify. "Would to God," he wrote on January 25, 1852, "that I could transfer the sense or consciousness of certainty and reality which continually grows upon me. But it is the law that this is to be known each man for himself." And on March 6 he writes: "I never venture to press you, greatly as I long for you. But I respect you and your trials, as I desire to be treated myself. All I fear for you is chronic doubt, and the dimness which delay spreads over the clearest evidence. I believe nothing will, because nothing can, go beyond the revelations of the last three years to prove that the Church of England is a human society, out of the sphere and guidance of the Divine Spirit. It has not in it the essential form of the Catholic Church." And again on July 11: "I pray for you, and remember you at the altar, and watch your every word; but I leave you with God, for since I came within the sphere of faith and grace, I feel that God only gathers soul by soul." This correspondence extended in the same tone over three years. It contains but little controversy, though Manning is led from time to time to throw light briefly upon certain points of Catholic Faith that had been misunderstood. But there is always the manifestation of a heartfelt solicitude for a soul so dear.[1]

These appeals were not without their effect upon Robert Wilberforce. But great efforts were made at the same

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 25-45.

time by Pusey, Keble, Gladstone, and, above all, by Bishop Wilberforce, to retain him in the Church of England. The Bishop, already saddened and irritated by the loss of his brother Henry and his brother-in-law Manning, could not endure the prospect of seeing the brother whom he loved best following in their steps. Unable to reply to Robert's arguments, he pleaded that the Church of England, divided as it was, was not in "a normal state"; but he contended that this did not justify or oblige him to leave the Anglican communion, and, above all, to embrace "the errors, superstitions, and grievous corruptions of the Papacy." He added, with much emotion: "Never for months has a day passed that I have not earnestly prayed for you, that you may be kept from this most fearful sin. Of course, in comparison with this aspect, all other things are light. But it is heart-breaking to me to think of losing you, my brother and friend—my friend, guide, and aid since boyhood, and with whom, I do believe, there does still exist a unity of feeling, which has perished (though affection survives in all its strength) between Henry and myself. May God evermore bless you, my beloved brother! I think you so much better a man than I am, that it is marvellous you should be ensnared by such a painted hog as that Roman Jezebel."[1]

Passionate and loving as were these entreaties, they failed to check the work that was going on in the soul of Robert Wilberforce. One of the ties which held him back was broken in a sorrowful way by the death, at the beginning of 1853, of his wife. Like Manning, he specially reproached the Church of England for its lack of doctrinal authority, as it was exhibited in the case of the Gorham

[1] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 251-258.

Judgment. He was just then engaged, after publishing his treatise on the Holy Eucharist, upon a book on "Principles of Church Authority." This work was for him as the "Essay on Development" was for Newman. The more clearly his studies led him to define what this authority ought to be, the more was he forced to recognize that the Church to which he belonged, vitiated as it was by the Royal Supremacy, possessed it not, and that in the Roman Church alone was it to be found. Accordingly, in 1854, when his book was completed and published, he made up his mind that he must resign his office as Archdeacon. In the preface to his book he defends in terms which vibrate and thrill with the anguish of his soul, his delay in taking this decisive step.

"Whether I was right in considering that I ought not to carry the present volume through the press without first relieving myself from the obligations of subscription, I leave to the reader's judgment; I can only say that my resolution was not taken without counting the time and the cost. For if these pages should find their way into any fair parsonage, where everything within and without speaks of comfort and peace, where sympathizing neighbours present an object to the affections, and the bell from an adjoining ancient tower invites the inmates morning and evening to consecrate each successive day to God's service; and if the reader's thoughts suggest to him that it is impossible to unloose ties so binding or to transplant himself from his ancient seat, when he is too old to take root in a new soil, let him be assured that such also have been the feelings of the writer. And more painful still is the consciousness that such a step must rend the hearts and cloud the prospects of those who are as dear to men as their own souls. It is at such times that the promises of Scripture come home to the heart with a freshness which eighteen centuries have not diminished: 'There is no man that hath left house, or

brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for *My* sake and the Gospels, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come, eternal life.'"

Shortly afterwards—on November 1, 1854 Robert Wilberforce was received into the Church in Paris. He chose this city out of consideration for his brother, the Bishop of Oxford; yet the blow for the Bishop was none the less fraught with pain. He felt what the loss of such a man meant for the Church of England, and he realized that he was separated for ever from a brother who was as dear to him as his own soul. "I feel as if my head would go," he said; and he wrote in his diary: "Rose after a sleepless night, worn like a hunted hare." People who met him in those first days of pain declared that they "never saw on the face of any man such a look of anguish and desolation." And yet, "untenable" as he judged the arguments to be which had convinced his brother, he could not but admit the uprightness and honesty of Robert's mind. "May our gracious God," he exclaimed, "who knows the purity of my beloved brother's soul, overrule this even for good; but it is a hard and sad blow."[1] Pusey and Keble shared his sorrow. Gladstone, writing to the new convert, told him that by leaving the Church of England he had inflicted upon it the greatest injury which it was capable of enduring. Manning, on the other hand, was full of

[1] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., pp. 258-266. A few years later the Bishop had a similar grief in the conversion of his eldest brother, William, and in 1868 he heard with profound sorrow of the reception into the Catholic Church of his only daughter and her husband.

thankfulness. "My dearest Robert—I have this moment opened your letter. My first act was to say a *Gloria*. I know what it must cost you; for I know what it cost me. No one but God alone knows how much. Only one sorrow in life ever approached it.[1] But the consolation is sevenfold, and has grown, deepened, and multiplied year by year. I know now what it means to be 'refreshed with a multitude of peace.'"[2]

On Manning's advice, Robert Wilberforce, after some hesitation, determined to crown his entrance into the Church by preparing himself for the priesthood, and he proceeded to Rome for his theological studies. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of such an accession to the ranks of the Catholic priesthood, which already contained Newman and Manning. But, alas! a few weeks from the date fixed for his ordination, Wilberforce was attacked by malignant fever, and died on February 3, 1857, at Albano. This was a very heavy blow for Manning, who had looked forward to his being one of the pillars of the community that he was founding. The Bishop of Oxford, prejudiced as he was against Catholics, could not refrain from paying his tribute of love and sorrow. "His end," he wrote to one of his brothers-in-law, "was what the end of a life of such purity, humility, self-sacrifice (and through all the superstitions of his new creed), true and living personal faith in Christ would lead us to look for—it was entire peace—Dearest fellow! There was a childlike humility about him such as I never saw in so able a man."[3]

[1] He refers to the death of his wife.
[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 44.
[3] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 338.

CHAPTER III

DIVISIONS AMONG CATHOLICS

(1858—1865)

I. Catholic progress in England checked by divisions—Prejudices of older Catholics against converts—Somewhat exaggerated views among the latter—Newman's opinion. II. The conflict between Errington and Manning—The cause referred to Rome—Manning engages the services of Mgr. Talbot—His able defence—Unyielding attitude of Errington—The Pope finally deprives him of his office. III. Liberalism—The *Rambler*, organ of Catholics with Liberal tendencies—Their boldness—Ward opposes them—His extreme opinions—Newman's attitude towards the two parties—The Bishops disapprove of the *Rambler*, and call upon Newman to intervene—Newman suspected by some Ultramontanes. IV. Relations between Newman and Manning—Their different natures—Difference of opinion between them, notably on the question of the temporal power of the Pope. V. The *Home and Foreign Review*, which succeeds the *Rambler*, blamed by the Bishops—Newman identifies himself with the Bishops' action, but holds aloof from both parties, which he disapproves—Montalembert at the Mechlin Congress, and Döllinger at the Congress of Munich—The *Brief* of the Archbishop of Munich and the *Syllabus*—The effect of these Pontifical Acts in England—The *Home and Foreign Review* suspends publication—Ward maintains more and more extreme doctrines. VI. An attack by Kingsley determines Newman to write the *Apologia*—Character of the book—Its extraordinary effect upon English opinion. VII. *Apologia*—Newman had renewed affectionate relations with some of his old friends: Church, Rogers, Williams, Pusey, Keble—His meeting with Pusey and Keble. VIII. Notwithstanding the good done by the *Apologia*, it is looked upon with suspicion by certain Catholics—How Newman explains in this book his views on the authority of the Church and on Liberalism. IX. The prejudices of certain Catholics against Newman shown on the occasion

of the plan of founding an Oratory at Oxford—Newman's reasons for this scheme—Opposition to the scheme, led by Manning, decides the Bishops to disapprove of it, and to pronounce against Catholic students going to the national Universities—Newman's sufferings caused by the suspicions which are aroused—Injustice of these suspicions—This is perceived by Newman's Anglican friends. X. Wiseman, who seems called upon to moderate and pacify these conflicts, retires through age and fatigue, leaving Manning to carry on the fight—His increasing popularity in England—His death and magnificent funeral.

THE important position which Catholics had gained in England during the years which followed 1850 was an augury of a brilliant future. How came it, then, that these hopes were frustrated by the very people who most wished them to be realized? Unhappily this was not the first time that such a division had occurred in the religious history of England. In the sixteenth century, though the rupture with the Holy See was primarily due to Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the representatives of Rome cannot be entirely exonerated for their own policy. Something of the same bad fortune appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century, when, after the conversion of Newman and Manning, which brought such unlooked-for gain to English Catholics, a spirit of contention arose among them which checked their progress for a long period.

It has already been noted that many of the old Catholics were more alarmed than grateful at the sudden influx of converts whose training and habits were alike strange and perplexing to them, while the extraordinary favour which Wiseman displayed towards the newcomers did not tend to allay their suspicions or to quell their uneasy jealousy. Remembering how long they had undergone suffering for

the faith, they found it hard that such labourers who came at the eleventh hour should be treated on the same footing as themselves, and especially that they should be more favoured than they. When, for instance, Manning, on the morrow as it were of his conversion, was allowed to pass through all the grades of orders within the space of a few weeks, the old Catholics did not fail to criticize a precipitation that was so contrary to custom, and one of their papers published the following malicious paragraph: "The Rev. H. E. Manning, who was recently ordained priest, is on the point of starting for Rome to *begin* his ecclesiastical studies." Ward's appointment to the Chair of Theology at Old Hall caused still louder complaints. These were carried to the Holy See, but without success. With his usual humour, Pius IX. replied to a prelate who denounced the incongruity of a married man occupying a Chair in a seminary: "It is a novel objection to anyone who is engaged in the work of God that he has received one Sacrament of Holy Church which neither you nor I can possibly receive."[1] Shortly afterwards the Pope conferred on Ward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and at the same time raised Faber to a Doctorate of Theology.

One would naturally have expected that one of the causes of contention and misunderstanding between old Catholics and converts would have been that the former would prefer doctrines or devotions furthest removed from Protestantism, and that converts, influenced by their former training, would feel a repugnance to them. The precise opposite of this was the case. Many of the old Catholics, depressed by long years of persecution, had got

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 35.

into the habit of hiding certain aspects of their religion, as though they were weary and a little ashamed of them. Pious practices in vogue in Catholic countries—such as the Rosary, Litanies, Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, veneration of images, and the like, which had been given up by their forefathers in times of oppression, as non-essentials, came to be regarded as exaggerated forms of devotion, and their gradual abandonment was looked upon as a triumph of English common-sense over Italian extravagance. In like manner, they had come to regard Papal intervention, when it was brought to bear upon them, in somewhat the same light as it used to be regarded by the most advanced Gallicans. Many converts, on the other hand, as a reaction against the lack of dogmatic and disciplinary authority or against the dryness and coldness of worship, which they had suffered as Anglicans, were led then to exalt and magnify the sovereignty of the Pope and to restore all Catholic devotions to their fullest extent, including even those most likely to jar upon British prejudices. The converts showed themselves the most ardent Ultramontanes.

This was a special feature of Father Faber's work as Superior of the London Oratory. Since 1850 he had been completely free from the authority of Newman and the Birmingham house, and he was thereby able to carry out his views. His leading notion was that the ideal of Catholic life was to be sought, not in a country where persecution had forced Catholicism to adopt a kind of disguise, but in those in which she had expanded and flourished, and above all in her true nursery, Rome, and it was his ambition to propagate Roman devotions throughout England. The influence of his virtue, his

fascinating personality, his apostolic zeal, his rare gifts as preacher, author, poet, conversationalist, and director of souls all served to spread and popularize piety, both ascetic and mystical, joined to Italian devotions in their most ornate form. Hearts chilled by the frigid breath of Protestantism glowed under Faber's influence with the enthusiasm which burned within his own, and he loved to replace the cold, dignified sobriety, by a kind of intoxication of divine love. Regardless of his failing health, he continued till his death in 1863, in active work, preaching, hearing confessions, publishing spiritual books, and presiding over the sumptuous functions which had already made the Oratory famous in Catholic London. Those even who did not share his views acknowledged his great influence. After his death, a broad-minded and highly-gifted Anglican, Sir Roundell Palmer, afterwards Lord Selborne, wrote of him that of the modern converts from the English Church who had thrown themselves without reserve or misgiving into the Roman system, he possessed more than anyone else the gift of influencing other men's feelings; that the love with which he was regarded by those who came under his influence was great, and he was well worthy of love.[1]

Perhaps one may say that the action of Faber and other converts in introducing these changes, though justified from certain points of view, was carried beyond the limits of prudence. They felt so strongly the shortcomings of the old school of Catholics that they too often forgot what was due to them for their heroic fidelity in the past, their faith profound and austere, their unaffected

[1] *Memorials, Family, and Personal*, by Roundell, Earl of Selborne, vol. ii., p. 463.

and discreet dignity. Even if their piety had become somewhat weary and wanting in warmth and life, if it needed awakening and refreshing, would it not have been well to reflect whether certain of these pious practices, borrowed from foreign countries, and from Italy especially, were not likely to revive the old anti-Catholic prejudices of the English people? Bishop Ullathorne, one of the wisest and most respected prelates, did not disguise his dislike of these imprudent exaggerations, and Wiseman himself, favourable as he was to the converts, judged it necessary sometimes to recommend moderation. Newman, whose affection for Faber had at first prevented his expressing want of sympathy with him, later evinced his disapproval, and in 1865, in a letter to Pusey, he said that he preferred English habits of belief and devotion to foreign, from the same causes and by the same right which justified foreigners in preferring their own. In this line of conduct he was but availing himself of the teaching which he had received on becoming a Catholic.

But it would be a mistake to infer from this that the writer's own piety was dry or colourless, as was that of some of his fellow-countrymen. What he blamed was a want of moderation. His own personal taste is clearly shown in the exquisite little volume published shortly after his death, containing his favourite devotions.[1] As has been remarked, a great number of the prayers in this book are taken from the *Raccoltà*, an Italian collection which was very little in favour with the old Catholics of that period.

[1] *Meditations and Devotions.*

II

The rivalry between old Catholics and converts was destined to develop into a personal conflict of an unhappy nature. This encounter occurred in the Cardinal's own household, and it involved men of no less importance than Archbishop Errington and Manning. Since the year 1855 Errington had held the office of Coadjutor, with right of succession to Wiseman, with whom he was united by the bonds of an old and close friendship. He was a man of austere life and brilliant learning, conscientious to the point of scrupulosity a rigid administrator, with the Canon Law at his fingers' ends. But his character was masterful, unbending, narrow, and obstinate; full of prejudice as he was against converts, he saw with much displeasure the influence that they possessed. When with some reluctance, and at Wiseman's express desire, he accepted the post of Coadjutor, he fully anticipated that his familiar relations with the Cardinal, as well as the latter's easy-going nature, would enable him to be something more than a mere subordinate or agent for carrying out orders, and he looked forward to exercising independent administrative authority so far as the nature of his office allowed. He also counted upon putting an end to what he considered dangerous leniency. But this did not in any way tally with the Cardinal's view. Wiseman was very jealous of his authority, he had no desire to be supplanted by his Coadjutor, and he reserved to himself the final decision on all questions, a decision which was now and then marked with but little regard for the rules of Canon Law. What made him the more disinclined to give his Coadjutor a free hand was, that he himself

approached matters in a spirit differing widely from that of Errington—a spirit less rigid, and, at the same time, more broad, more open to generous sympathies, and more alive to the future. Contention under such circumstances was inevitable, and was not long in coming about. An occasion of disagreement was Ward's position at St. Edmund's. Errington wished to force him to resign his Chair of Theology, while Wiseman was determined that he should retain it.

Disappointed in his Coadjutor, the Cardinal keenly felt the need of strong support, and found it in Manning. Even at this early date the Cardinal showed more than once that he looked upon the convert priest as a much more desirable successor in the See of Westminster than the Coadjutor, whose appointment he now had such reason to regret. The more Manning's importance in the diocese increased, the stronger became the hostility with which Errington regarded him. A single glance at the two men was enough to show their dissimilarity. Dr. Errington, somewhat short and thickset, "with a hawklike expression of face as he looked at you through his dark-blue spectacles"; iron determination and persistency were stamped on face and figure: Manning, dignified and of stately bearing, his delicately chiselled features eloquent of an ascetic life, with a penetrating glance of the eye which spoke of fixed ideas and firm determination.[1] Both were endowed with strong, tenacious wills, ambitious for their cause, absolutely sincere, and each convinced that his line of action was for the greater good of the Church. With perfect good faith, Errington declared that Manning concealed, behind an enigmatic

[1] *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 265.

gravity, the spirit of intrigue and domination with which, as it seemed to the Coadjutor, he sought to rule the Cardinal and his clergy, and to introduce among English Catholics strange novelties not consonant with their traditions. With equal sincerity, Manning regarded Errington as the personification of "a low order of English Catholicism, national and anti-Roman," whose accession to the See of Westminster "would undo all the work Wiseman had done since the restoration of the hierarchy, and throw back the progress of Catholicism in England for a generation"; and he added that the Coadjutor and his friends were inspired, not by "zeal for religion, for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls, but jealousy and prejudice against the converts."[1]

Errington felt that his views were shared by the greater part of the clergy of the old school. The President of Ushaw went so far as to say of Manning: "I hate that man."[2] Errington felt that he had the sympathies of several of the Bishops as well, for the Cardinal, who was impatient of minor difficulties of administration, made the mistake of treating his suffragans in too high-handed a manner on the subject of jurisdiction and finance connected with the newly-formed dioceses. The resentment thus created in the minds of some of the Bishops seemed to justify Errington when he made similar complaints on his own account.

The opposition to Wiseman appeared with special virulence in the Chapter of Westminster, which was still extremely sore owing to the Pope's action in making Manning Provost. The Canons, with Errington's support,

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 89, 136, 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 77.

declared open war against the new Congregation of the Oblates, and demanded from Manning that he should submit to the inspection of the Chapter the rules which he had framed for the Congregation. Manning haughtily refused this demand, and counted largely upon Wiseman's support. Great efforts, however, were made to detach the Cardinal from him. Members of the Cardinal's own household, his Vicar-General, Dr. Maguire, and his confidential secretary, Mgr. Searle, threw themselves with vigour into the contest on behalf of the Chapter, and were not without confidence of being able, thanks to their position, to influence the mind of their chief. But Wiseman remained firm. Far from listening to Manning's adversaries, he resolutely opposed them. He imposed silence upon Searle, dismissed Maguire, and annulled the deliberations of the Chapter, which, however, refused to submit, and, with Errington's support, appealed to Rome. The Cardinal took the same course, and begged the Holy See to relieve him from a Coadjutor with whom any future co-operation appeared impossible.

Thus was Rome called upon to decide the quarrel which was so unhappily dividing the English Catholics. Wiseman and Manning counted much upon their personal friendship with Pius IX., but it became immediately evident that Cardinal Barnabo, whose office as Prefect of the Propaganda gave him cognizance of the quarrel, lent a ready enough ear to their adversaries' complaints, especially those which came from the English Bishops. Certain canonical irregularities of the Archbishop of Westminster shocked him, and he feared that there might be a schism in the English Episcopacy. Wiseman was not long in realizing that success was far from easy or

assured. He entered into the struggle with ardour, but his constitutional nervousness had been increased by age, fatigue, and illness. He passed from one extreme to the other. An encouraging word spoken by the Pope raised him to the highest pitch of joy, making him think that his cause was gained, while any coldness on the part of Barnabo wounded, depressed, and saddened him. Manning watched these alternations between hope and despair, and it was not the lightest of his tasks to sustain the courage of one so easily moved. Meanwhile, he carried on negotiations in Rome with ability, and he found an invaluable channel of communication in Mgr. Talbot. The elder son of Lord Talbot de Malahide, he became a Catholic in 1847, and later on was appointed one of the Chamberlains of the Roman Court. He possessed a filial reverence towards the Holy Father, who held him in the highest favour and allowed him considerable freedom of speech, so much that he was generally chosen to convey unpleasant news to the Pope. To strong faith, piety, and an upright character, he combined the abrupt, strong, and passionate disposition of a Tory squire of the old school, while the want of balance in his temperament led ultimately to madness. Manning, with his strength of character, had no difficulty in getting Talbot to espouse his cause. Knowing that his views were ardently Ultramontane, Manning assured Talbot over and over again that Errington and his friends were "tainted with Gallicanism" and "disloyalty to the Holy See," and that their triumph would destroy all hope of a thoroughly Roman priesthood.[1] Father Faber, too, expressed the opinion that if Dr. Errington returned to Westminster as Archbishop, it

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 87-90, 99, 171.

would take fifty years for the Holy See to bring England back to the point which she had then reached. These views were retailed in Rome by Mgr. Talbot, who did not minimize them. Of Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark, a prelate of eminent virtue whom he suspected of being in sympathy with Errington, Talbot did not scruple to declare that after living "seventeen years in Rome (Grant) had imbibed all the cunning and duplicity of the Italian character without its noble loyalty to the Holy See."[1] On another occasion he wrote to Manning: "I agree with you more and more, and see, that until the old generation of Bishops and priests is removed—to heaven I hope, because they are good men—no great progress of religion can be expected in England."[2] Errington was deeply wounded at the charge of disloyalty towards the Holy See, and complained of being wickedly calumniated, and he did not fail to denounce Manning as an agent of discord and intrigue who had gained ascendancy over Wiseman. Thus the contest waxed daily more and more violent, while those who carried it on could not disguise from themselves the sad effect it would have upon the enemies of the Church. "All this is very sad," wrote Manning to Talbot. "Thank God the Protestants do not know that half our time and strength is wasted in contests *inter domesticos fidei*.[3]

Outsiders were, at this time, apt to regard Manning as a man of fighting instincts, resourceful, bold, resolute, and implacable, with his whole being intent upon the goal which he wished to attain. But on those who came into personal contact with him he sometimes left an impression

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[3] *Ibid.*

of greater gentleness. In this pleasant aspect he revealed himself to the Redemptorist, Father Coffin, who, convert though he was, had taken part with the old Catholics of England against the former Anglican Archdeacon. Encountering Manning one day, Coffin seized the opportunity of stating his views frankly. Far from being offended by his candour, Manning was touched by it. "With true humility Father Manning listened to all, and won by Father Coffin's sincerity, took him by the hand, and said, 'Now you must promise me one thing.' 'I will, if I may,' answered Father Coffin. 'Well,' said Father Manning, 'it is that for the glory of God you will always speak out to me thus the truth.' 'I shall,' answered Father Coffin. And on the spot Father Manning opened himself most entirely to him."[1] Thenceforward, the fullest intimacy existed between them.

The authorities in Rome were in no hurry to pronounce judgment. Wisdom often dictates a temporizing policy. The propaganda even tried to solve the difficulty by means of a synod of English Bishops to which was submitted the claims of the Westminster Chapter. The synod on the whole pronounced against the Chapter. On other points —notably on those touching the respective rights of the Bishops and the Metropolitan in the direction of Ecclesiastical Colleges—the synod pronounced against Wiseman. The Chapter submitted promptly and honourably. Still, this did not bring peace. Errington's attitude of open hostility to Wiseman at the synod was a scandal which made the possibility of their working together clearer than ever. On this point appeal was again made to the Holy See, and Errington and Manning were identified as

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 79.

the chief representatives of the two parties in the dispute.

Wearied as he was by age and infirmities, Wiseman journeyed to Rome, whither he was soon followed by Manning, who pleaded his cause with dignity and skill. He met the attacks on the Oblates by pointing out that their foundation was only due to the advice of the Pope and Wiseman, while he defended himself with some fire and eloquence:

"Lastly," he writes, "I am accused of a love of power. I would ask to know what there is in my past or present acts to show that I have enriched myself or acted in rivalry with anyone, or crossed any man's path, or deprived him of any due, or sought honours, titles, or promotions, or indulged in the arts of ambitions, or made the elevation of myself the end of my actions. At least, they who know my past trials will hardly think this of me. If by love of power any of those things are meant, then I leave myself in your Eminence's hands, and in the judgment of the Holy See, and of Him who I hope will give to my actions a better name, and in my life will read a better intention. But I will make a free and frank confession. There is a power I earnestly desire, strive and pray for. It is the power to make a reparation for years spent in ignorance, which I trust I can say before God was not voluntary; to spread in England the knowledge of the one only faith; to make others partake of the grace I have myself received; to win back as many souls as I can to the unity of the Church, and to promote in every way, with greater devotion of life and efficacy of labour, the salvation of souls and the submission of England to the Holy See. In any other sense I must treat the accusation as an ungenerous and unkind interpretation of my life, faulty and unprofitable as I know it to be."

Manning maintained that he had never lifted his hand nor spoken a word against Errington, whom he accused of having begun an unprovoked attack upon himself and his

work. On the other hand, Manning admitted that his work was directly opposed to a certain line of conduct and to a certain traditional spirit which prevailed among ecclesiastics in England, and he added that while many of them inspired respect, they did not all do so. Passing on to a ground higher than the dispute about the Oblates, he added that the question was—

"Whether England shall be organized and assimilated to the living devotions and spirit of Rome, or perpetuate itself upon its own insular centre; and under this question comes another, on which I will not venture to speak—viz., whether or no the Church in England shall content and confine itself to a better administration of sacraments to the small communion of Catholic sojourners in England or shall mingle itself in the life of the English people, act upon its intelligence by a mature Catholic culture, upon its will by a larger and more vigorous exercise of the powers which are set in motion by the restoration of the Hierarchy."[1]

Wiseman, too, in a long memorandum, bore high testimony to Manning's worth. After detailing the many valuable works achieved by him and the Oblates, the Cardinal went on as follows:

"I think I may now ask your Eminence, who has such experience of men, if a man, I will not say who has worked, but whom God has made use of in order to effect so many and such great things for His glory, is to be despised, and treated as a man merely ambitious, cunning, dishonest, seeking nothing but his own interests, and to gain influence? . . . Are these signs of the Spirit of God, or of the spirit of pride and hypocrisy? For so they have been openly described. I do not hesitate to say that in all England there is not another priest who in double the time has done what Dr. Manning has for the advantage of the Catholic Church."[2]

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 350-354. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

Errington, unlike Manning, was conspicuously lacking in skill. His want of moderation disheartened his friends. To shield him from the mortification of rigorous measures, they suggested that he should resign the coadjutorship of his own accord and accept the Archbishopric of Port of Spain in Trinidad. In vain was this step urged upon him by Cardinal Barnabo, and by the Pope himself, as a peaceful solution of the difficulty. Errington, while declaring his readiness to obey any order of the Pope, resolutely declined to throw up his position *motu proprio*. "But now," he wrote, "as I have been accused by Mgr. Talbot (and others, who think as he does, repeat it here) of anti-Romanism, Anglo-Gallicanism, and other failings, which, if they really existed, would be incompatible with the faithful fulfilment of the episcopal duties, and as these accusations are given as reasons why I should not remain here, it does not seem to me that I can of myself take any step for my own removal, since such a step would confirm these erroneous assertions and accusations."[1] To further entreaties he merely replied: "*Vim patior, patior, injustitiam.*" The Pope, finding him so obstinate, resolved upon extreme measures. There were no grounds for any Canonical procedure, but the Holy Father felt that he must put an end to a coadjutorship which was of no service to the Church. By the exercise of his supreme authority, an act which he himself described as "Colpo di Stato di Dominidio," Pius IX. deprived Errington of his coadjutorship and of the right of succession to the See of Westminster.

Thus had Manning triumphed. To him more than ever did Wiseman entrust affairs of importance, more

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 335.

especially the negotiations pending in Rome on the difficult questions between the Cardinal and his Suffragans. But great as was Manning's ability as a negotiator, and highly as he was esteemed in Rome, he was unable to obtain a favourable decision in the matter of the Ecclesiastical Colleges, in which Wiseman had been badly advised. Still, deeply as he felt this rebuff, the Cardinal could not forget that, in the great subject of dispute, he had gained his heart's desire. As for Errington, he won the respect of friends and foes alike by his silent and dignified submission. He spent the rest of his life working as a parish priest under Dr. Goss, Bishop of Liverpool, at Douglas, Isle of Man; and at a later period, on the restoration of Prior Park, he was called by his staunch friend Dr. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, to be Professor of Theology in the College. He nursed no resentment, and never in any way attempted to tell his own story.

Thus ended this long and painful conflict, and if any want of cordiality still existed between hereditary Catholics and converts, it gradually decreased, while the lapse of time helped to destroy the prejudices of an earlier day. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that discords among English Catholics were things of the past. Indeed we have now to show how new divisions arose on the more important subject of "Liberalism."

III

On the question of Liberalism, Catholics in England were divided, but in this case the cleavage was not between converts and hereditary Catholics, for men of both these classes were found on either side. Nor was this an exclusively English question, for the same problem

existed everywhere, giving rise to similar controversies. Certain Catholics in various countries had become uneasy on account of a supposed divergence, on questions of political and scientific freedom, between certain aspirations of modern thought and the form in which Catholic doctrine was sometimes presented. Those who adopted these views set to work to widen somewhat this aspect of Catholicism, and to "liberalize" it. While acting thus, they prided themselves upon remaining faithful in all matters that were essential to the faith, and they held that a misunderstanding existed which in the best interests of the Catholic faith ought to be removed. It was the work which was attempted under different conditions according to the men and to the countries to which they belonged, Lacordaire and Montalembert in France, and Goerres and Döllinger in Germany. Other Catholics, on the contrary, were alarmed and shocked by these novelties. They simply looked upon the crisis as a reason for re-affirming, sometimes even exaggerating, everything in the traditional forms of doctrine which were best calculated to strike at what they regarded as the proud revolt of modern thought against authority. As is nearly always the case in controversies of this kind, truth and error, foresight and blindness, were found in varying degrees on each side, and time alone could clear the questions in dispute from exaggerations, and decide to what extent ancient traditions should survive and what things were to be regarded as modern innovations.

In England, Catholics of liberal tendency had as their organ a monthly review, the *Rambler*, the chief editors being Richard Simpson and Sir John Acton, later known as Lord Acton. Simpson was at one time a clergyman,

and had been received into the Church in 1845. A graduate of Oxford, a distinguished man of letters, he possessed a mind subtle and penetrating, but somewhat inclined to be combative, a quality which had frequently led him, when an Anglican, into quarrels with his Bishop.

Acton was born a Catholic of German extraction, and a pupil of Döllinger, who had been his tutor at Munich. He was gifted with a strong and virile understanding, and, young as he still was, he already possessed remarkable historical learning. Many of the Oxford converts contributed to the Review, that claimed to confine itself to the domain of secular science which appeared to the editors to be outside the range of spiritual jurisdiction. The writers boldly discussed problems of philosophy, criticism and history, to which they supplied the most liberal solutions, without troubling themselves as to how far they were in accord with the received ideas of Catholics. Their underlying principle was the necessity of exercising absolute freedom in these investigations, and to make known their results frankly and openly, however much they might seem to clash with certain established notions. They prided themselves upon being up-to-date; they boasted of their progress and were jealous of their conquests. Nothing, they declared, which modern society had done to secure liberty, to advance progress or to create means of arriving at truth, could be treated by them with indifference or suspicion. But the nature of the questions which the writers preferred to deal with, and the principles of the *Rambler* which were more scientific than political, led these writers to adhere more to the German than to the French school, to Döllinger rather than to Lacordaire and Montalembert. The Review was con-

ducted with much learning and ability. Never before had a Catholic periodical in England achieved so brilliant a success. But broad-minded and fruitful as were many of its views, it was stained by exaggerated and temerarious statements. Not content with opposing retrograde ideas, some of the writers seemed to adopt opinions the more readily in proportion as they were opposed to the traditional view. They were inclined to look upon everything emanating from Rome as old-fashioned and out-of-date. Their very efforts to escape from a groove led them to adopt a partisan spirit and to form a system. Their vaunted impartiality led them into partiality towards anti-religious *savants* as opposed to what bore the hall-mark of Rome, and they made no secret of their contempt for the old Catholics of England, whom they suspected of narrowness and lack of culture.

It could be no matter for surprise that a Review conducted on lines such as these should be distasteful to the Bishops, and not only to those who had no leaning towards novelties but even to others who recognized that some changes were desirable. Wiseman, much in sympathy as he was with Montalembert and his friends, and eager as he was to dissipate the misunderstandings which kept the Church estranged from the modern world, did not hesitate, in an article published in 1856 in the *Dublin Review*, to blame the views and above all the tone of the *Rambler*. He reproved the writers among other things for their attacks, unjust as they were ungenerous, upon the old Catholics, whom he defended as warmly as he had defended the converts. He reproached the writers also with their partisan spirit of antagonism to all that was Catholic. That there existed in the Church men of

narrow-minded and retrograde views he did not deny, but this was not remedied by adopting an attitude of offensive hostility towards the Catholic body. To influence a community, one should take part in its acts, respect its laws, and work in harmony with its episcopal authority.

Nor did Wiseman content himself with this protest, which did not attract the attention it deserved. He wished to strengthen the staff of the *Dublin Review*, so that it might act as a counterpoise to the *Rambler*, and with this end in view he sought the aid of the leading converts, amongst others of Ward, who had resigned the Chair of Theology at St. Edmund's, which he had held for seven years despite the persistent opposition of the clergy of the old school. In calling upon Ward to oppose Simpson, did it occur to Wiseman that he was going from one extreme to another? Ward had been attracted especially to the Catholic Church because he saw in it a potent instrument of doctrinal authority. Precisely as the sight of revolutionary anarchy had led Joseph de Maistre to dream of a political dictatorship with the Pope at its head, so had the doctrinal chaos of Anglicanism convinced Ward that salvation was alone to be found in the spiritual dictatorship of the Papacy. In his characteristic way he carried this view to excess. "Not in intellectual independence," he wrote, "but in intellectual captivity is true intellectual liberty and perfection."[1] He regarded it as natural and desirable that this dictatorship should at each moment settle all questions suggested by modern thought, while it was the duty of the faithful simply to listen in a docile way to these decisions and submit to

[1] Article in the *Dublin Review*, quoted in *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 133.

them as in all cases sovereign and infallible. To one of his friends who urged that there must be a limit, and that he could not expect decrees every month, he replied that he should like to receive a Papal Bull each morning at breakfast with his *Times*.

Curiously enough, these extreme opinions did not prevent Ward being one of the first among the converts to renew his old Anglican friendships. From the year 1858 onwards we once more find him on terms of cordial familiarity with Protestants of the most varied schools of thought, such as Stanley, Tait, Jowett, Rogers, and many others.[1] And yet he was the last man in the world to hide any part of his belief as a Catholic which might offend them. They had certainly been used, for many years, to look upon him as a bundle of paradox, and people who champion a cause rather extravagantly are tolerated as being less dangerous than others who argue with greater moderation. Ward, moreover, had the knack of stating his views with a bright humour which deprived the controversy of all bitterness and kept his opponents constantly amused. "Ward was enormous fun," wrote Rogers, after one of these meetings.[2] Besides his buoyant fun, Ward possessed the more serious qualities of sincerity, candour and a disinterested love of truth, which were recognized by all, and caused people to overlook many of his foibles.

Ward did not stand alone in his opposition to the liberalism of the *Rambler*. The same line was taken by several converts of otherwise varying views, such as Manning, Oakeley, Faber, and Dalgairns. But weighty as

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 74 *et seq.*
[2] *Letters of Lord Blackford*, p. 249.

was their opinion, it was of even greater interest to see what was Newman's attitude on the subject.[1] After resigning the Rectorship of the Dublin University in 1858, he once more settled at Edgbaston, taking no part in public affairs and leading a life of simplicity, regularity and silence, and dividing his time between prayer, study, his duties as Superior of the Oratory and President of the boys' school which he established in 1859, besides devoting anxious care to the souls who sought his spiritual direction. Retired as he was, the eyes of the world were yet upon him. He was questioned on both sides. The contributors to the *Rambler* called themselves his friends, showed him respect, sought to procure his co-operation, and to shelter themselves under his authority. From the time when he had been his disciple at Oxford, Ward retained the habit of consulting him continually about his writings and proceedings while still following only his own way blending in a singular manner, deference with suspicion, a desire of agreement with so dear a master with a readiness to contradict him.[2] Newman, without

[1] As regards the precise part taken by Newman in the questions which divided Catholics, we cannot but regret that Newman's correspondence after he became a Catholic has not, like his Anglican correspondence, been made public. Newman's inner life is far better known to us before than after his conversion. This is an anomaly which it is in the interests of Catholics to remove, as further knowledge can only enhance his reputation. Newman's papers are in the hands of a priest of the Oratory, whose pious, though over-timid, friendship makes him fear that a maladroit or indiscreet use might be made of the treasure confided to him. Possibly the way Mr. Purcell has treated Manning's papers has added to this fear. Such considerations ought to dictate a prudence in the choice of an editor and biographer; they cannot justify entire abstention from publishing these documents.

[2] See the correspondence between Ward and Newman at this period: *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, chapters iv. and vi.

repelling the signs of friendship shown to him, really sided with neither party. He had ever been opposed to what he designated "liberalism" in religion—that is to say, a certain relaxation of dogmatic severity. He adhered very strongly to the authority and infallibility of a teaching Church; and the need of finding this authority was precisely one of the reasons which had led him to Catholicism; in short, he professed the greatest respect for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and already while still an Anglican had astonished his less scrupulous friends by the pain he experienced if, by so much as a single thought, he was at variance with his Bishop. There had been in the ideas, and above all, in the tone of the *Rambler*, many things which grated upon him. On the other hand, he did not approve of the ideas and tone of Ward. Respect for tradition did not seem to him necessarily to imply that one should be bound by scholastic formulas. He believed in an evolution in the science of theology, in that "development of Christian doctrine," which had aided and thrown light upon his own conversion.

It was not at this time, however, that Newman realized to what extent his manner of thinking, reasoning, and judging differed from that of his old disciple. Though resolute in seeking the truth, and generous in following it wherever it led him, not counting the cost, and devoid of dilettante scepticism and of sophistry, which some superficial observers attributed to him, he had nevertheless the liking and the habit of studying, before coming to a conclusion, all the aspects of a question, of unravelling its subtle complexity, of weighing the objections and of extracting the particle of truth contained in it. Nothing displeased him more than the absolute and decisive

judgment of Ward, his manner of deciding by the deductions of logic, by the application of some unique and dominant principle. These excesses were not only repugnant to his disposition, they preoccupied him by reason of the evil they might do to others. That which he dreaded, for example, in the dogmatic definitions in a continual stream that Ward asked for so impatiently from religious authority, was less a clog for his own reason, resolute beforehand in all necessary submissions, than trouble brought to the consciences whose confidant he was; it saddened him to see souls in the throe of conversion scared and thrown back, of whom one could say they fluttered as doves at a window, waiting until it opened to them. This penetrating and sympathetic intelligence of the mind of others, this aptitude for putting himself in their place, which gave him an exact comprehension of their difficulties, this vigilant susceptibility of any exaggeration that could trouble them, was not one of Newman's least remarkable pecularities. Herein he differed from the Ultramontanes, even while he admitted some of their principles. This caused him to put up with the Liberals of the *Rambler* while regretting their extravagancies: he saw the modicum of truth mixed with their errors; he saw the agony of their faith and did not wish to increase it.[1]

In the beginning of 1859 the Bishops, more and more discontented with the *Rambler*, deliberated upon the measures to be taken; nevertheless, before proceeding to rigorous measures, they desired to see if Newman's

[1] Newman's character has been admirably depicted by the Rev. W. H. Kent, a member of the congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles, in an article appearing in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1896, on Purcell's book.

influence would effect a change, and, through Dr. Ullathorne, asked him to intervene. Always docile to authority, Newman obtained Simpson's resignation of the editorship, and assumed it himself. Wiseman signified his lively satisfaction at this. In undertaking this charge, Newman hoped to do a pacific work. He soon saw how difficult the task was made by the exigencies of either party, and only edited two numbers. Report being current, at the end of 1859, that he still had the direction of the *Rambler*, he uncompromisingly contradicted it. Repulsed in his attempt at mediation, he resolved for the future to hold aloof from both sides. His correspondence and diary show in the following years, from 1859 to 1861, more and more discontent with the *Rambler*, which spared him neither reproaches nor admonition. He was not more satisfied with the other party, and especially could not tolerate its hastiness in branding others. "I feel keenly," said he, "the great injustice of those who, after having pleased themselves by putting their own particular views to the fore, accuse of a want of peace and charity those who, thus provoked, 'believe themselves obliged to show that there is another opinion upon this subject and that Good Catholics profess it.'"

In vain did Newman dissociate himself from the *Rambler;* certain Catholics persisted in connecting him with it, and evinced strange mistrust of his orthodoxy. In the displeasure which the exaggerations of certain Ultramontanes caused him, these suspicious minds pretended to discover a tendency to alter, or, as they said, to minimize Catholic dogma. They insinuated from his courtesy towards the writers of the *Rambler* that he was their protector and accomplice, and made him responsible

for the very excesses that he blamed. This is the usual fate of moderation. Newman, who was disposed to be reticent whenever surrounded by an atmosphere of exaggeration and violence, did not always trouble to prevent these false judgments by explanations. He did not admit that he was bound to be classed with one or the other of the struggling parties, or to give a summary affirmation, with regard to questions that he deemed to be very complex. As in his Oxford days, he answered indiscreet questioners by ironic evasions which silenced them, but occasionally gave rise to suspicion.

The Bishop of Newport, Dr. Brown, delated to Rome an article published by Newman in the *Rambler*. The Holy Office demanded from the accused author some explanations that he hastened to send by Cardinal Wiseman. By one of those negligences to which the latter was sometimes addicted, these explanations never reached the Roman authorities, who took no measures against Newman; but he was none the less looked upon unfavourably by the Propaganda. That a Bishop should so mistrust a great servant of the Church was unfortunate. But it was more grievous to find such suspicions in Manning and to notice the nascent antagonism which, for long years, set at variance the two chief champions of Catholicism in England.

IV

Manning's Anglican relations with Newman have already been alluded to, and the way in which he was distinguished from Newman, if not by the depth of his ideas, at least by the bent and particular form of his activity. He could only be an ally, not a disciple. The action of the two

men had nearly always been parallel, without ever being confused. There had been, between them, more reciprocal esteem than intimacy and sympathy. Sometimes, even, some passing differences were manifested. In spite of their convictions and common aspirations, one could not imagine two more dissimilar natures. The one, a subtle and profound thinker, disdainful of outward action, more pre-occupied with the realities of the invisible than of the visible world, used to study thought in all its phases, with an aptitude for understanding natures the most unlike his own, keenly appreciative of the perplexities of the human mind; the other, a man of action and of government, little curious as to mere ideas, seeing only the basis of operation, a mind powerful, courageous, elevated, but absolute, easily imperious, seeking only what he believed the true and the good, and making straight for it, decided in treating as hostile whoever followed a different direction, incapable of entering into thoughts other than his own, or of sympathizing with the intellectual difficulties of his opponents. Their natural temperaments suffice to explain how, in the absence of petty motives, two men of great mind, of just and high views, and of rare virtues, could be so unhappily divided. Newman, in writing of the differences of opinion which arose between St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzen, had attributed them to the contrast in their characters, which he defined in these terms: Gregory, the affectionate, the tender of heart, the man of lively and profound friendships, the exquisite and eloquent orator; Basil, the man of firm resolution and of solid work, the sublime leader of the flock of Christ, the active worker in the field of ecclesiastical politics; certainly they differed much, but

not, however, without having some traits in common; both had that sensitive soul which is at the same time a blessing and a cross; both were Saints. It has often been remarked that this double portrait was applicable to Newman and Manning, and notably that both had possessed, like the two Greek Fathers, the sensitive mind which made differences of opinion most grievous, and easily made the least antagonism in idea a heart-wound.

When Manning had joined Newman in the Catholic Church mutual good understanding was to be expected. On Newman's appointment to the Rectorship of the Dublin University, he had offered the post of vice-rector to Manning. The latter, then in Rome, had declined, but subsequently associated himself in Wiseman's representations to the Holy See, that the Rector should be nominated Bishop *in partibus*. In 1857 Newman had dedicated one of his volumes of sermons to Manning as a memorial of the friendship which had united them for nearly thirty years. In 1861 Manning responded by a like dedication: "Towards you," he said to Newman, "I have contracted a debt of gratitude greater than towards any man of our time, for the intellectual light and aid you have brought me."

Already, however, at the epoch when Manning used this language, a certain constraint existed in his bearing towards Newman. Led, like so many others, to Catholicism by the desire to find in it an authority and unity of which he had deplored the absence in Anglicanism, he felt that the needs of his time required the exaltation of Papal prerogative, which in his view could not be too highly extolled. Far from having a respect for the perplexities of the faithful, troubled by the claims and criticisms of

modern thought, he saw in them rebels to force into submission, suspects to throw out. These ideas had drawn him closer to Ward, whom he sustained and encouraged. The contributors to the *Rambler* seemed to him culpable and dangerous. He was alarmed at the consideration Newman had for them, at the tokens of deference he received, and he came to believe that there was a kind of complicity between them and him. Some incidents occurred in 1860 and 1861 which seemed to confirm his suspicions.

Opinion then ran very high upon the question of the temporal power of the Pope, which had been violently inflamed by the events following the war of 1859 in Italy. Manning threw himself into the controversy with all the ardour of his Romanism. In 1860 and 1861, in addresses given in London, and soon published in volume form, he openly took, despite English opinion, the defence of the temporal power. In the furtherance of his zeal he seemed sometimes to convert certain political developments into dogmas, and not always to distinguish a historical event from Divine institution. Newman, on the contrary, was more reserved on this subject. Not, assuredly, that he approved of the work of spoliation; in a sermon that he gave upon "The Pope and the Revolution," he described the Piedmontese army as a "band of sacrilegious robbers," and, in pronouncing these words, he violently stamped his foot. But he deemed that the advocates of temporal power used extravagant arguments; like other illustrious Catholics, Lacordaire and Ozanam, he retained fond love for Italy, and believed her justified in seeking a new political régime, and conceived of an understanding with the Pope

upon a new basis.[1] It is doubtful whether he had any determined views on the subject, and at any rate he thought it inexpedient to make them known, nor wished to be associated with extreme demonstrations. This reserve led him, on the foundation of a Catholic Academy by Wiseman, in 1861, to take a step that Manning regarded with displeasure. Informed that Wiseman intended to make this Academy the instrument of his ideas on temporal power, Newman warned Manning that under these conditions he could not give his co-operation. About the same time as the *Rambler* had published a severe criticism of Manning's addresses the latter erroneously believed that Newman was the author, or at least the inspirer, of this article. Newman had then broken with the *Rambler*, the tone of which he disapproved, and had not even read the article. Manning was only made aware of this several years later, but at the time he was convinced that the attack came from Newman, and saw in it an act of personal hostility and of infidelity to the Holy See, for which the author deserved to be treated as a suspect at least.

V

In May, 1862, the *Rambler* became a quarterly, renamed the *Home and Foreign Review*, and retained the same daring spirit. The Bishops deemed it no longer possible to delay the protestation which they had long projected; it appeared in October, 1862, and was soon after explained and justified in two pamphlets of Dr. Ullathorne. Cardinal Wiseman, moreover, always mindful of the interests

[1] *Some of My Recollections of Cardinal Newman*, by Sir Rowland Blennerhasset (*Cornhill Magazine*, November, 1901).

of the *Dublin Review*, determined to hand over its sole editorship to Ward under Manning's authority. Ward threw himself into this enterprise with his accustomed impetuosity. His direction, which was prolonged until 1878, gave new life to the moribund *Review*. He secured notable contributors, and multiplied his own articles, so that the *Dublin* clearly bore the stamp of his own ideas. If the literary style was inferior to the *Rambler*, the *Dublin* held its own in controversial matters.

The acuter the conflict grew between the two schools, the more Newman declined to mix himself up with it; and to Ward, who on assuming the editorship of the *Dublin* had asked him to contribute, he wrote: "I could not write for the *Dublin* without writing also for the *Home and Foreign*, and I mean to keep myself if I can from these public collisions, not that in that way I can escape the evil tongues of men, great and small, but reports die away and acts remain." Nevertheless, when his Bishop, Dr. Ullathorne, censured the *Home and Foreign Review*, Newman, always submissive to authority, wrote to him: "I hope there is no need to assure your Lordship that I join with all my heart in your condemnation of the doctrines that you find in these publications and the articles which contain them. It follows that I ought to consider, as I do in reality, that it is the simple duty of the authors of these articles, and of all those who have taken part in them, firstly, to repudiate the doctrines in question; secondly, to retract the pamphlets in which they have been set forth." But no sooner had Newman written this letter than he found it being used in certain quarters as a proof that he held more decided views than he really did, and that he was a member of a party to

which he had in reality no wish to belong. He found it necessary to explain his position in a second letter, which fully satisfied Dr. Ullathorne. Conscious as he was of the shortcomings of the *Home and Foreign*, he did not feel justified in condemning it *ex Cathedra*, and thought the subject too complex to admit of a summary judgment. "A man who has been mixed up with two such different people as Ward and Simpson cannot explain himself without writing a volume."[1] Newman's attitude at this time towards the Liberal *Review* may be gathered from his correspondence with W. M. Monsell, afterwards first Lord Emly, one of the more moderate contributors to the *Review*. Newman occasionally appeared more hopeful of the *Home and Foreign*, which he trusted would dissociate itself from obnoxious articles; at other times he became discouraged, complaining that the line it took simply played into the hands of the *Dublin*. In some of the articles, moreover, he detected a "Protestant savour," and his disapproval was all the more sorrowful on remembering how he had formerly taken the side of the *Review*, on the faith of the promises which its editors had made. To use Monsell's expression, Newman's view regarding the *Home and Foreign* could be summed up in the words, "Interest and disappointment."[2]

Meanwhile, beyond the shores of England, the controversy upon what, for a better word, we must call "Liberal Catholicism," was becoming more bitter in France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. The *Univers* used its great influence in urging the Holy See to intervene by fresh definitions and condemnations. The Liberals, on

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 199-205.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 206.

the other hand, appealed to the religious world for support. Two of their manifestations especially made a great stir. The first was the speeches of Montalembert at the Malines Congress in August, 1863, on "A Free Church in a Free State," and on "Liberty of Conscience." The second was the address delivered by Döllinger to the Congress of Catholic Germans at Munich in the following month. Montalembert dealt in his speeches with a political question—namely, the relations of the Church with the State and Modern Society. His words were full of ardent and generous love of the Church, coupled with a knowledge of the conditions in which she could obtain the liberty necessary for her mission; at the same time he rather unnecessarily ran counter to traditional ideas by his thesis, at times somewhat absolute, and by the vehemence of his expression. Döllinger took a different line. He insisted on the necessity of replacing scholastic theology by one more in keeping with the modern spirit, Biblical criticism, and the history of dogma. An evolution of this kind, to be lawful, could only affect external and accidental forms of doctrine without touching its essence. In this shape it was a manifestation of that law of "development," which Newman noted as the very characteristic of a living doctrine. But it was capable of being taken as a contemptuous repudiation of all tradition, a kind of revolt against the official theology recognized by Roman authority. What was really in the mind of the Munich Congress? Clearly the members were not all agreed in their interpretation of Döllinger's words —as witness the single fact that some remained in the event faithful to the Holy See, whereas others, with Döllinger himself, became the instigators of "old Catholicism."

As might have been expected, these two Congresses were the cause of much controversy. The foes of liberalism pointed to them as a new argument for Papal intervention. The Pope himself had not at first shown any displeasure at the proceedings at Munich. He had replied to the Address of loyalty by sending his blessing to the Congress, but was soon uneasy at the meaning imputed to Döllinger's words, both by those who praised and those who condemned them. In a brief address to the Archbishop of Munich, dated December 21, 1863, the Pope, while praising the intentions of those who had promoted the Congress, and expressing a hope that it might be fruitful for good, vindicated the authority of the Roman Congregations as well as of scholastic theology. As to Montalembert's speeches at Malines, which had been denounced to the Index, there was a time when they seemed in danger of being censured. But the Holy Father refused to inflict a public rebuke upon one of the Church's principal champions. He simply carried out a project which he had long been considering—namely, the publication, in December 1864, of a *Syllabus*, or Catalogue of Modern Errors, which had already been censured by the Holy See, and with it issued the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, in which he endorsed and renewed the condemnation already pronounced in 1832 by Gregory XVI. against the too unreserved liberalism of the *Avenir*. The sensation which the *Syllabus* caused—a sensation which took the Roman authorities by surprise—is well remembered. The irreligious Press affected to believe that the Church had herself proclaimed her divorce from modern society, while some of the Governments of Europe threatened to make reprisals. Bishop Dupanloup, with creditable

initiative, produced in a few days a treatise explaining the parts of the document which, owing to the language of theologians who misunderstood public opinion, had alarmed politicians. The Bishop's treatise earned the immediate sanction and public thanks of the Pope.

These events had their effect in England, where they revived the controversy between the two schools of Catholics. Just after the Congresses, and before the Holy See had spoken, one of the most moderate of the writers in the *Home and Foreign Review*, Mr. Monsell, spoke in the House of Commons against religious intolerance in Spain, his words seeming like an echo of the Malines speeches. But it was to Munich especially that the conductors of the Liberal *Review* turned their thoughts. Simpson and Acton greeted Döllinger's speech as an event of capital importance, interpreting it in a sense most hostile to the Roman authorities, and when the letter to the Archbishop of Munich appeared, these writers recognized that what the Pope disapproved was their own attitude. They therefore resolved to suspend the publication of their *Review*, not in a spirit of submission, but as an appeal to time which should justify them and prove that the Pope was in error. Thus when the *Syllabus* was published, they had no longer any organ for the expression of their views, but in private conversation they made no secret of their opinion that the document did not bind their conscience.

Ward, on the other hand, had from the first moment pointed to the simultaneous utterances at Malines and Munich as an alarming symptom, and he denounced both Congresses as efforts to decry the legitimate authority of the Church, in politics and philosophy alike. In his

opinion the authors of these Congresses were "disloyal Catholics" and rebels (perhaps unintentionally) against the Church. Though he disliked the political liberalism of Montalembert as "heterodox," he considered Döllinger's philosophic liberalism as much more dangerous.

Acting on Manning's advice, he decided not to publish a long article he had written for the *Dublin Review* against the speech of the French orator, contenting himself with circulating it privately. He showed no such delicacy, however, in his attacks on German liberalism and its English adherents. When the *Syllabus* appeared, he was delighted. He had once declared that he would like to receive a new Papal decree every morning with his *Times*. He was naturally charmed, therefore, when he got a whole budget all at once. He seemed to take pleasure in giving the strongest and most absolute interpretation, and in insisting that everyone should accept such interpretation on pain of being considered a rebellious Catholic. Moreover, he seized this opportunity of restating and developing propositions connected with Papal Infallibility and the submission due to all utterances emanating from Rome, far more drastic than the doctrine defined a few years later on these subjects by the Vatican Council. Nor did Ward feel himself alone in these views. He was in correspondence with several continental Ultramontanes, while in England he enjoyed the approbation of Manning, who shut his eyes to exaggerations which in cold blood he would have hesitated to admit without reserve. He encouraged Ward, praised his writings and approved his interpretations. "There is no course for us," he wrote, "but equal explicitness and the enunciation of the highest truths. I am convinced

that boldness is prudence, and that half truth is our danger. It seems to me that we can do nothing surer nor more practical than to pursue the line you have begun, and to keep to it almost exclusively."[1]

Dearly as Ward prized Manning's approval, he was eager to know how far Newman was in agreement with him; he kept him well supplied with his articles, and endeavoured to draw from him a favourable opinion. Newman replied patiently, nay affectionately, without, however, committing himself to everything that Ward had written. While agreeing with him in certain principles, he did not admit all that Ward deduced from them, still less did he approve of the extreme way in which they were stated. Of the *Dublin Review*, he wrote that it "strained principles to the breaking-point," and that it "presented truths in their most paradoxical form."[2] Neither did Newman identify himself with men of the opposite school, and among these he made distinctions. For instance, he made it clear to Ward that he preferred Montalembert's views to Döllinger's, who inspired him with much less confidence and sympathy. On the whole question, he maintained a reserve which the exaggerations on both sides made him less than ever disposed to abandon. Just then, moreover, he was far too busy to join in these controversies, for he was in the throes of the Kingsley controversy.

VI

Protestant opinion had been deeply wounded by Newman's conversion, and refused to admit that such

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 187.

[2] See *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 197-199 and 454-459.

a step, which was often labelled a "perversion," admitted of an honourable explanation. No doubt there were difficulties in the way of explaining how a decision which cost its author so much anguish could be other than disinterested, but none the less did the great bulk of Protestants see in it duplicity and want of candour. The very subtlety of Newman's critical power, his anxious doubts and hesitations from 1841 to 1845, instead of being convincing proofs of sincerity and moral rectitude, were, to the average Protestant, so many evidences that he had been a Papist in disguise, who simply adhered to the English Church the better to betray her, and lead after him a larger following. Perfidy such as this dallied well with the common Protestant idea of a Catholic Priest as a professor of lying, dissimulation and intrigue. Those even who could not bring themselves to believe such evil of one whom they had formerly esteemed, found it difficult to acquit him of being more ingenious and subtle than straightforward. At the best, they saw in him the hopeless victim of a fatal error, a man who had cut himself adrift from the sympathy and intercourse of his fellow-countrymen.

Prejudices such as these wounded Newman deeply. For many years, however, he showed no sign of struggling against them. He submitted to them in silence. He considered them, as he tells us, to be a portion of the penalty which he naturally and justly incurred by his change of religion, even though they were to continue as long as he lived. Twenty years had thus elapsed when an unlooked-for incident supplied Newman with the means of justifying himself.

In January, 1864, a friend called his attention to an

article in *Macmillan's Magazine* on Froude's History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. In this the anonymous writer used these words: "Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the Saints, wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world." Newman was naturally indignant at this accusation, and wrote to the Editor for an explanation. The writer of the article was the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a man of great ability, a novelist and poet of strong democratic opinions, who had mixed himself up with the Chartist Agitation of 1848, and had once been Editor of the *Christian Socialist*. Rector of Eversley since 1844, he had, in 1860, been appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. As a friend and disciple of Frederick Maurice, he had been looked upon as a Broad Churchman, though he claimed to hold more orthodox views. He was a man of ardent and susceptible nature, and readily influenced by men of the most various schools of thought, but Ritualists and Catholics he detested. To the question addressed to him he replied by referring to a sermon preached by Newman as Vicar of St. Mary's, entitled *Wisdom and Innocence*, but without citing any particular passage. Newman in vain pressed him for something more definite, and at last, losing patience, he published the correspondence, adding to it, in the form of a dialogue, an analysis of biting sarcasm, worthy of the best pages of Pascal. This pamphlet, which appeared in the early part of February, 1864, called forth another answer by Kingsley, entitled *What then does Dr. Newman Mean?* In this, he professed

to discover in Newman's writings abundant evidence that he taught lying, and that people were justified in doubting his sincerity. "I am henceforth in doubt and fear," he wrote, "as much as any honest man can be, concerning every word Dr. Newman may write. How can I tell that I shall not be the dupe of some cunning equivocation, of one of the three kinds laid down as permissible by the blessed St. Alphonso da Liguori and his pupils, even when confirmed with an oath, because 'then we do not deceive our neighbour, but allow him to deceive himself?' . . . How can I tell that I may not in this pamphlet have made an accusation, of the truth of which Dr. Newman is perfectly conscious, but that, as I, a heretic Protestant, have no business to make it, he has a full right to deny it?" Newman winced under this outrage. For twenty years he had been silent under the accusation of untruthfulness. Was he justified in still holding his peace, or did not this challenge, thrown thus publicly in his face before the whole country, make it imperative for him to break at last through his long silence? Here, moreover, was no personal quarrel. The honour of his brother Priests was at stake. It was surely his duty to defend it. It did not take him long to decide the question. "I accept the challenge," he exclaimed, "I shall do my best to meet it, and I shall be content when I have done so." The cordial way in which his first pamphlet had been received encouraged Newman to hope that the moment was a favourable one. Hitherto he had been silent because he saw no disposition on the part of the public to listen to him. "I have wished," he wrote, "to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. When shall I pronounce him to be himself again? If I may

judge from the tone of the public press, which represents the public voice, I have great reason to take heart at this time." It pleased him, too, to know that his judges were to be his own countrymen. "I consider, indeed, Englishmen the most suspicious and touchy of mankind; I think them unreasonable and unjust in their seasons of excitement, but I had rather be an Englishman (as in fact I am) than belong to any other race under heaven. They are as generous as they are hasty and burly, and their repentance for their injustice is greater than their sin." He was fully conscious, however, of the gravity of the prejudice which he had to encounter.

"It is this which is the strength of the case of my Accuser against me—not his arguments in themselves, which I shall easily crumble into dust, but the bias in the court. It is the state of the atmosphere; it is the vibration all around which will more or less echo his assertion of my dishonesty; it is that prepossession against me which takes it for granted that, when my reasoning is convincing, it is only ingenious, and that when my statements are unanswerable, there is always something put out of sight or hidden in my sleeve; it is that plausible, but cruel, conclusion to which men are so apt to jump, that when much is imputed, something must be true, and that it is more likely that one should be to blame than that many should be mistaken in blaming him—these are the real foes which I have to fight, and the auxiliaries to whom my Accuser makes his court."

But the prospect did not daunt him. "Well," he continues, "I must break through this barrier of prejudice against me, if I can, and I think I shall be able to do so." And he thus discloses his plan:

"When first I read the Pamphlet of Accusation, I almost despaired of meeting effectively such a heap of

misrepresentation and such vehemence of animosity. What was the good of answering first one point and then another, and going through the whole circle of its abuse, when my answer to the first point would be forgotten as soon as I got to the second? What was the use of bringing out half a hundred separate principles or views for the refutation of the separate counts in the Indictment, when rejoinders of this sort would but confuse and torment the reader by their number and their diversity? What hope was there of condensing into a pamphlet of a readable length matter which ought freely to expand itself into half-a-dozen volumes? What means was there, except the expenditure of interminable pages, to set right even one of that series of 'single passing hints,' to use my assailant's own language, which, 'as with his finger tip he had delivered' against me? All those separate charges of his had their force in being illustrations of one and the same great imputation. . . . He called me a *liar*—a simple, a broad, an intelligible, to the English public, a plausible arraignment. . . . What I needed was a corresponding antagonistic unity in my defence, and where was that to be found? . . . I reflected, and I saw a way out of my perplexity. Yes, I said to myself, his very question is about my *meaning;* 'What does Dr. Newman mean?' . . . He asks what I *mean*, not about my words, not about my arguments, not about my actions, as his ultimate point, but about that living intelligence by which I write and argue and act. He asks about my mind and its Beliefs and its Sentiments; and he shall be answered. . . . I recognized what I had to do, though I shrank from both the task and the exposure which it would entail. I must, I said, give the true key to my whole life; I must show what I am that it may be seen what I am not, and that the phantom may be extinguished which gibbers instead of me. I wish to be known as a living man, and not as a scarecrow which is dressed up in my clothes. . . . I will draw out, as far as may be, the history of my mind; I will state the point at which I began, in what external suggestion or accident each opinion had its rise, how far and how they were developed from within, how they grew, were

modified, were combined, were in collision with each other, and were changed; again, how I conducted myself towards them, and how and how far, and for how long a time, I thought I could hold them consistently with the ecclesiastical engagements which I had made, and with the position which I filled. I must show—what is the very truth—that the doctrines which I held, and have held for so many years, have been taught me (speaking humanly) partly by the suggestions of Protestant friends, partly by the teaching of books, and partly by the action of my own mind; and thus I shall account for that phenomenon which to so many seems so wonderful, that I should have left 'my kindred and my father's house' for a Church from which once I turned away with dread—so wonderful to them! as if forsooth a Religion which had flourished through so many ages, among so many nations, amid such varieties of social life, in such contrary classes and conditions of men, and after so many revolutions, political and civil, could not subdue the reason and overcome the heart, without the aid of fraud and the sophistries of the schools. . . . It is not at all pleasant for me to be egotistical; nor to be criticized for being so. It is not pleasant to reveal to high and low, young and old, what has gone on within me from my early years. It is not pleasant to be giving to every shallow or flippant disputant the advantage over me of knowing my most private thoughts, I might even say the intercourse between myself and my Maker. But I do not like to be called to my face a liar and a knave; nor should I be doing my duty to my faith or to my name, if I were to suffer it. I know I have done nothing to deserve such an insult, and if I prove this, as I hope to do, I must not care for such incidental annoyances as are involved in the process."[1]

Thus did Newman announce his intention of writing what he openly called: *Apologia pro vita sua*. The few among the Anglicans who had remained his friends, and who realized the attitude of public opinion towards him,

[1] *Apologia*, Preface, *passim*.

were not without anxiety. Church, who had been asked to supervise the proofs, could not conceal the anxiety he felt at Newman's task in having to justify his position before judges who, whatever their impartiality, could not but be biassed by their preconceived ideas and sentiments. Writing to the Rev. W. J. Copeland,[1] he said:

"I heard yesterday from Newman, asking me to look over sheets, which, of course, I will gladly do. It must be very painful for him to have to go over all this ground again. I cannot help wishing that he had spared himself, or at any rate that he had left Kingsley alone, and said what was to be said without mixing it up with his quarrel with Kingsley. But he knows better than I do what best becomes him. The truth is, he has a hard task before him. . . . When the whole question comes to be opened afresh, as to what people who don't agree with Newman are to think of the legitimacy of the position which he took up, while coming round to be what they so shrink from and dislike, it will be a hard matter to make explanations which will satisfy even candid ones among them. There is nothing so trying and so hard in the world as the position of a man who is changing his views, and doing so with due time and deliberation and caution. The more careful and conscientious and hesitating he is, the more people insist on flinging charges of dishonesty and inconsistency against him. If Newman's *Apologia* to the British public succeeds in bringing them round to judge him fairly, he will have accomplished a remarkable feat. He can do it if any man can, but he runs a risk. . . . The public and the personal questions are so intermixed, that everyone who is afraid of Rome, or dislikes it, will think himself bound to pronounce against Newman. But he must go on, and we must help him as well as we can."[2]

[1] April 26, 1864. *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 167, 168.

[2] Letter to Copeland, dated April 26, 1864. *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 167, 168.

Without being daunted by these fears, Newman set himself to his task. Unprepared as he was, and unfurnished with materials, he nevertheless worked on in the face of all difficulties. The rapidity with which he wrote was prodigious. His decision to write was come to at the beginning of April. On the 21st of that month the first part was published. The six others followed week by week, the last appearing on June 2. And the outcome of this rapid writing was an admirable book, equalled only by the Confessions of St. Augustine, with which it may worthily be compared. The circumstances which had given rise to the book and hastened its execution, invested it with a living and poignant interest. One felt that the author, in depicting his inmost soul, had not deliberately posed before his canvas so as to produce a flattering picture, but that he had most reluctantly revealed himself to the public gaze under pressure of the attack made upon him, and that he was writing under the influence of an emotion which shook his very soul. Nor was it a mere polemical pamphlet. He very soon rose superior to the quarrel. "And now," he says at the end of the first part of the *Apologia*, "I am in a train of thought higher and more serene than any which calumniators can disturb. Away with you, Mr. Kingsley, and fly into space."

We are, indeed, raised above any personal animosity. We are presented with the history of a soul told by the writer, who alone was able to penetrate its depths and to analyze its delicate complexities. We follow the various stages of his gradual gropings after truth. The touching self-revelation proved also to be a chapter of history, throwing light upon one of the most interesting and

fruitful religious crises of England in the nineteenth century; it supplied a key to the great Movement which is still going on. Regarded from a more abstract point of view, it was a study, profound and penetrating, of the formation and development of religious belief in a soul naturally critical; a study made more captivating and more convincing by the fact that it came from the author's living mind. Added to this was a perfection of form and a charm of style which, in the opinion of all competent judges, have placed the *Apologia* among the masterpieces of English literature.

The book, begun as a polemic, ended in a tender note. The closing lines are an expression of gratitude and affection towards that little group whose loyal and filial attachment had consoled their master amid the calumnies of his foes.

"I have closed this history of myself with St. Philip's name upon St. Philip's feast day; and, having done so, to whom can I more suitably offer it as a memorial of affection and gratitude than to St. Philip's sons, my dearest brothers of this house, the priests of the Birmingham Oratory, *Ambrose St. John, Henry Austin Mills, Henry Bittleston, Edward Caswall, William Paine Neville* and *Henry Ignatius Dudley Ryder?* who have been so faithful to me; who have been so sensitive of my needs; who have been so indulgent to my failings; who have carried me through so many trials; who have grudged no sacrifice, if I asked for it; who have been so cheerful under discouragements of my causing; who have done so many good works, and let me have the credit of them; with whom I have lived so long, with whom I hope to die.

"And to you especially, dear *Ambrose St. John*, whom God gave me when He took everyone else away; who are the link between my old life and my new; who have now

for twenty-one years been so devoted to me, so patient, so zealous, so tender; who have let me lean so hard upon you; who have watched me so narrowly; who have never thought of yourself if I was in question. And in you I gather up and bear in memory those familiar, affectionate companions and counsellors, who in Oxford were given to me, one after another, to be my daily solace and relief; and all those others of great name and high example, who were my thorough friends, and showed me true attachment in times long past; and also those many younger men, whether I knew them or not, who have never been disloyal to me by word or deed; and of all these, thus various in their relations to me, those more especially who have since joined the Catholic Church. And I earnestly pray for this whole company, with a hope against hope that all of us who were so united and so happy in our union may even now be brought at length, by the Power of the Divine Will, into one fold, and under One Shepherd."

All contemporary evidence is agreed as to the extraordinary effect produced by the *Apologia*. Newman's words went straight to the heart of England, and the change of opinion in the whole nation was complete and immediate. If there were any still unconvinced, their voices were drowned in the universal applause. Never before had such an effect been produced by the publication of a single book. Dr. Fairbairn, a very Protestant writer, expressed his astonishment that a man should have thus been able to determine the judgment that should be passed on an epoch in his life, and to make the public, and that a hostile public, accept the interpretation which he gave of his own conduct. Newman had achieved the enormously difficult feat of explaining and of making clear and acceptable to a public deeply prejudiced against Catholicism the straightforward honesty and lawfulness

of the motives on which he had acted. The accusations which had led him to write the book were so completely forgotten that, in the second edition, they were merely suppressed without the mention of Kingsley's name. After twenty years of coldness, suspicion, and even abuse, he now began to be regarded by his fellow-countrymen with a friendliness and respect which not only endured until his death, but has since grown deeper. No longer was he regarded as a deserter, a traitor who had made himself an outlaw; on the contrary, the great body of Englishmen once more welcomed him as one of themselves and placed him, moreover, among those whom they most loved to honour. This amazing result was primarily due, of course, to the genius of the writer. But what also contributed greatly to it was his absolute sincerity, his obvious candour, and the revelation of his inmost soul luminous and beautiful. There was besides an indefinable charm in the book, a fascination in its style that proved that, Catholic as he was, he was none the less an Englishman, as the *Saturday Review* remarked a short time later.[1]

VII

Though it is true that Newman by the *Apologia* won credit and favour in England, it would be a mistake to suppose that, even before the book appeared, there was no change in his relations with certain members of the Anglican body. On the contrary, he had had the consolation of, by degrees, renewing the affectionate intercourse with some of his former friends from whom he had become estranged at the time of his conversion. These

[1] *Saturday Review*, March 20, 1866.

renewals of friendship were quite personal. The outside public knew nothing of them. Newman's love for his old friends had never grown cold. He had never ceased to acknowledge their good faith, but from the day of his reception he felt, with a certain discreet pride, that he had by his own act separated himself from them, and that from them ought to come any proposals for a renewal of the old cordiality. It was accordingly from some who had equally suffered from the estrangement that an approach was made. In 1861 a correspondence began on the old terms of affectionate familiarity between Newman and Church, who was then Rector of Whatley, near Frome.[1] This came to be the dearest of Newman's Anglican friendships, and he usually began his letters to Church with "Carissime." To him, in 1870, he dedicated a volume of his sermons as a recognition of the service that Church had rendered him in old Oxford days. Of Church, Kegan Paul said that, had he become a Catholic, he would have inherited, like another Elisha, the mantle of his master, whom in so many points, and more than anyone else, he resembled.[2] Again, in 1863, we find another old friend, Frederick Rogers, visiting Newman at Edgbaston, and talking affectionately of past times,[3] while at about this time Newman and Isaac Williams were exchanging friendly letters.[4] Some years earlier, in 1858, Pusey had written to Newman to ask him, much as he might have done in the old Oxford days, to tell him the best method of refuting the objections resting on geological discoveries which freethinkers

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 158.
[2] Article in *Month* for February, 1895.
[3] *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 246.
[4] *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, p. 130.

brought against the Bible,[1] a question to which Newman hastened to respond. Pusey's prejudices against converts were not extended to Newman ; he maintained that all the converts had deteriorated except Newman, whose nature was so perfect that nothing—not even going over to Rome —could change him, and Ward who had got so bad already that with him further deterioration was impossible.[2] Keble delayed a little longer, but on August 4, 1863, he wrote a letter full of the delicate tenderness which characterized him :

"My Dear Newman,

"It is a great thing I know for me to ask, after so many years, that you should look kindly upon what comes from me. For I cannot conceal it from myself, nor yet acknowledge it without a special sort of pang, that what I have heard occasionally from Crawley and Copeland of your feeling as to your old friend's silence, touches me perhaps as much or more than any, and it is one of the many things which now in my old age I wish otherwise. I ought to have felt more than I did, what a sore burthen you were bearing for conscience' sake, and that it was the duty of us all to diminish rather than aggravate it, so far as other claims allowed. In point of fact I rather imagine the last communication was on my part, with the *Lyra Innocentium*. Since then I have been more than once about to write, but something always happened which seemed to check me, and I suppose I said to myself, 'It will be but cold and strained after all,' and so I gave way to my dilatory habits ; and it frightens me now to think how nearly the time has passed away. I can but ask that if I have been towards you too much as if you had been dead, you will now be towards me as if I were dying ; which of course must be nearly my condition,

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 78, 79.

[2] Ward was much amused at this dictum of Pusey. See *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 367.

for though (D.V.) wonderfully well, I am in my seventy-second year. Do then, my dear old friend, pardon me what has been wrong in this (I can see it in some measure, but I dare say there is more which I do not see), and let me have the comfort of hoping that your recollection of me will not henceforth be embittered by anything more than is inseparable from our sad position, as I am sure your kindness to me has always been the same. . . . And now, dear N., let me say 'God be with you; and may He forgive and bring us all together, as He will and when He will.' I know that you will let me have a line or two, to say that you will believe me still and always,

"Yours affectionately,
"J. KEBLE."[1]

These words, we may be quite sure, found an echo in Newman's heart. He had ever had a deep veneration for the writer's virtues, and when, in 1847, he announced to his sister his intention of becoming a son of St. Philip, he added that this great Saint reminded him in so many ways of Keble; that he found in both men the same moral physiognomy, and that the study of St. Philip enabled him to realize what Keble would have been if God's will had been that he should have been born in another place and age.[2]

For some time both Pusey and Keble confined their intercourse with Newman to letters, and it was only after the *Apologia* appeared that the three friends met towards the end of 1865. Newman has described the scene in the following graphic letter written at the request of Keble's biographer, Sir John Coleridge:

[1] *John Keble*, by Lock, p. 185.
[2] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 474.

"REDNALL,
"*Sept.* 17*th*, 1868.

"DEAR SIR JOHN COLERIDGE,

"I must begin by apologizing for my delay in acknowledging your letter of the 10th. Owing to accidental circumstances, my time has not been my own; and now, when at length I write, I fear I shall disappoint you in the answer which alone I can give to your question. It almost seems to me as if you were so kind as to wish me to write such an account of my visit to Mr. Keble as might appear in your Memoir, but, as I think you will see, my memory is too weak to allow of my putting on paper any particulars of it which are worth preserving. It was remarkable, certainly, that three friends, he, Dr. Pusey, and myself, who had been so intimately united for so many years, and then for so many years had been separated, at least one of them from the other two, should meet together just once again, and for the first and last time dine together simply by themselves. And the more remarkable, because not only by chance they met all three together, but there were positive chances against their meeting.

"Keble had wished me to come to him, but the illness of his wife, which took them to Bournemouth, obliged him to put me off. On their return to Hursley, I wrote to him on the subject of my visit, and fixed a day for it. Afterwards, hearing from Pusey that he, too, was going to Hursley on the very day I had named, I wrote to Keble to put off my visit. I told him, as I think, my reason. I had not seen either of them for twenty years, and to see both of them at once, would be more, I feared, than I could bear. Accordingly, I told him I should go from Birmingham to friends in the Isle of Wight, in the first place, and thence some day go over to Hursley. This was in September, 1865. But when, on the 12th, I had got into the Birmingham train for Reading, I felt it was like cowardice to shrink from the meeting, and I changed my mind again. In spite of my having put off my visit to him, I slept at Southampton, and made my appearance at Hursley next morning without being expected. Keble was at his door speaking to

a friend. He did not know me, and asked my name. What was more wonderful, since I had purposely come to his house, I did not know him, and I feared to ask who it was. I gave him my card without speaking. When at length we found out each other, he said, with that tender flurry of manner which I recollected so well, that his wife had been seized with an attack of her complaint that morning, and that he could not receive me as he should have wished to do; nor, indeed, had he expected me; for 'Pusey,' he whispered, 'is in the house, as you are aware."

"Then he brought me into his study, and embraced me most affectionately, and said he would go and prepare Pusey, and send him to me.

"I think I got there in the forenoon, and remained with him four or five hours, dining at one or two. He was in and out of the room all the time I was with him, attending on his wife, and I was left with Pusey. I recollect very little of the conversation that passed at dinner. Pusey was full of the question of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and Keble expressed his joy that it was common cause, in which I could not substantially differ from them; and he caught at such words of mine as seemed to show agreement. Mr. Gladstone's rejection at Oxford was talked of, and I said that I really thought that had I been still a member of the University, I must have voted against him, because he was giving up the Irish Establishment. On this Keble gave me one of his remarkable looks, so earnest and so sweet, came close to me, and whispered in my ear (I cannot recollect the exact words, but I took them to be): 'And is not that just?' It left the impression on my mind that he had no great sympathy with the Establishment in Ireland as an Establishment, and was favourable to the Church of the Irish.

"Just before my time for going, Pusey went to read the Evening Service in church, and I was left in the open air with Keble by himself. He said he would write to me in the Isle of Wight as soon as his wife got better, and then I should come over and have a day with him. We walked a little way, and stood looking in silence at the church and churchyard, so beautiful and calm. Then he began

to converse with me in more than his old tone of intimacy, as if we had never been parted, and soon I was obliged to go.

"I remained in the Island till I had his promised letter. It was to the effect that his wife's illness had increased, and he must give up the hopes of my coming to him. Thus, unless I had gone on that day, when I was so very near not going, I should not have seen him at all.

"He wrote me many notes about this time; in one of them he made a reference to the lines in Macbeth:

> "'When shall we three meet again?
> When the hurley-burley's done,
> When the battle's lost and won.'

"This is all I can recollect of a visit, of which almost the sole vivid memory which remains with me is the image of Keble himself.

"I am, dear Sir John Coleridge,
"Yours faithfully,
"JOHN H. NEWMAN."

The newspapers at the time referred to that meeting with some ill-will towards Keble and Pusey. Pusey was hurt by this, and in a letter to the editor of the *Guardian* he protested against those who spoke of "reconciliation" between himself and Newman. Their friendship of over forty years, he said, had never been broken, and, although Newman's departure from the English Church had been one of the deepest sorrows of his (Pusey's) life, it had caused no diminution of affection.[1]

VIII

The success of the *Apologia* was, of course, favourable to the Catholic cause. Had not Newman decided to write that book as much for the vindication of his brethren

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 112.

as of himself? His prestige, his reconquered popularity, were reflected upon the whole body of Catholics. From that day the name "convert" ceased to be a term of reproach. There is therefore no reason for surprise that Catholics rejoiced at a victory in the profits of which they shared, or that they showed their gratitude to him who had championed their cause. The Diocesan Synod of Birmingham, for example, in June, 1864, passed a vote of thanks to Newman. There is, on the other hand, reason for surprise that certain Catholics, and not the least important, disliked that success, and were alarmed by it. They did not dare openly to show their feelings, but they displayed them in private. Manning, in writing to Monsignor Talbot, expressed his annoyance that, with regard to what he rather disdainfully called "The Kingsley business," Canon Oakeley and Dr. Maguire were infatuated by Newman. He feared that Newman's influence, which he regarded as a dangerous one, would be increased; the *Apologia*, the intense interest of which he could not altogether deny, seemed to him to be the work of a "minimizer" of Catholic doctrine, and he declared that one of its results would be to make the Anglicans stay where they were.[1]

The general distrust with which, for some time, Manning and his friends had regarded Newman, was not the only cause of so strange an attitude. It was also due to what Newman had said, in the last part of the *Apologia*, concerning some of the questions at issue between the "Liberals" and the "Ultramontanes." He had not wished to be mixed up in these controversies, but he felt obliged to answer those persons who alleged that his new

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 206, 326.

religion forced him to beliefs which he could not sincerely accept, and that thenceforth he would have either to subject his reason to a degrading servitude or to comfort himself by a secret hypocritical infidelity. As elsewhere in the *Apologia*, he appears to have have had in view only his Protestant accusers. But I do not deny that he may have availed himself gladly of that opportunity of drawing a line for himself between the two extreme sections of his fellow-Catholics, without directly provoking them to any controversy. In any case, it was the first public manifestation of his views on these burning questions.

He declares, in those pages of the *Apologia*, that, from the time when he became a Catholic, he had been in perfect peace and contentment, and had never had a single doubt. He affirms his complete faith in all the truths of the Catholic Creed, even those which he calls "intellectual difficulties." In his view "ten thousand difficulties do not make one doubt; difficulty and doubt are incommensurate." Evidently with the intention of separating himself from certain rash assertions of the *Rambler*, he says:

"I submit, moreover, to the universally received traditions of the Church, in which lies the matter of those new dogmatic definitions which are from time to time made, and which in all times are the clothing and the illustration of the Catholic dogma as already defined. And I submit myself to those other decisions of the Holy See, theological or not, through the organs which it has itself appointed, which, waiving the question of their infallibility, on the lowest ground come to me with a claim to be accepted and obeyed. Also, I consider that, gradually, and in the course of ages, Catholic inquiry has taken certain definite shapes, and has thrown itself into the form of a science, with a method and a phraseology of its

own, under the intellectual handling of great minds, such as St. Athanasius, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas; and I feel under no temptation at all to break in pieces the great legacy of thought thus committed to us for these latter days."

But Newman also endeavours to show that infallibility does not imply the kind of intellectual captivity which Ward had extolled. He shows the limitations in the exercise of that infallibility.[1] Newman does not conclude that, because the gift of infallibility exists in the Catholic Church, the authorities who possess that gift are infallible in all their acts. He, indeed, admits that "history supplies us with instances in the Church where legitimate power has been harshly used." But he holds that, as a rule, those who have been so struck at were in the wrong, if not fundamentally, at least in the choice of an opportunity. He recognizes that, in some such cases of harsh intervention, authority may be unfavourably judged, above all when it "may be supported by a violent ultra party, which exalts opinions into dogmas, and has it principally

[1] "Every exercise of infallibility is brought out into act by an intense and varied operation of the reason from within and without, and provokes again a reaction of reason against it; and as in a civil polity the state exists and endures by means of the rivalry and collision the encroachments and defeats of its constituent parts, so in like manner Catholic Christendom is no simple exhibition of religious absolutism, but it presents a continuous picture of authority and private judgment, alternately advancing and retreating, as the ebb and flow of the tide;—it is a vast assemblage of human beings with wilful intellects and wild passions, brought together into one by the beauty and the majesty of a superhuman power—into what may be called a large reformatory or training-school, not to be sent to bed, not to be buried alive, but for the melting, refining, and moulding, as in some moral factory, by an incessant noisy process (if I may proceed to another metaphor), of the raw material of human nature, so excellent, so dangerous, so capable of divine purposes."

at heart to destroy every school of thought but its own." Here Newman is not merely concerned with history; he is face to face with the crisis of the hour, that from which he suffered and saw others so suffer around him.

"Such a state of things may be provoking and discouraging at the time in the case of two classes of persons: of moderate men, who wish to make differences in religious opinion as little as they fairly can be made; and of such as keenly perceive, and are honestly eager to remedy, existing evils—evils of which divines in this or that foreign country know nothing at all, and which even at home it is not everyone who has the means of estimating. This is a state of things both of past time and of the present. We live in a wonderful age. The enlargement of the circle of secular knowledge just now is simply a bewilderment, and the more so because it has the promise of continuing, and that with greater rapidity and more signal results. Now these discoveries, certain or probable, have in matter of fact an indirect bearing upon religious opinions, and the question arises, How are the respective claims of revelation and of natural science to be adjusted?"

Newman saw, for many souls seduced by the audacious claims of secular science, the danger of allowing themselves to fall into the bottomless pit of free-thought. Those with whom he was specially preoccupied were that "large class of men, in the educated portions of society, of religious and sincere minds, who are simply perplexed —frightened, or rendered desperate, as the case may be— by the utter confusion into which late discoveries or speculations have thrown their most elementary ideas of religion." I shall now cite a passage wherein Newman reveals himself very clearly, with his upright mind and his complex intellect, with his firm faith and his sympathetic understanding of the ideas of his period, with his generous anxiety for troubled consciences and his

acute sense of the difficulty of helping them, with his apostolical aspirations, his far-seeing intuitions, and also with his hesitations in coming to a decision, and his repugnance from taking action:

"Who does not feel for such men? who can have one unkind thought of them? I take up St. Augustine's beautiful words, 'Illi in vos sæviant,' etc. Let them be fierce with you who have no experience of the difficulty with which error is discriminated from truth, and the way of life is found amid the illusions of the world. How many Catholics have in their thoughts followed such men? many of them so good, so true, so noble! How often has the wish risen in their hearts that someone from among themselves should come forward as the champion of revealed truth against its opponents? Various persons, Catholic and Protestant, have asked me to do so myself; but I had several strong difficulties in the way. One of the greatest is this, that at the moment it is so difficult to say precisely what it is that is to be encountered and overthrown. I am far from denying that scientific knowledge is really growing, but it is by fits and starts. Hypotheses rise and fall; it is difficult to anticipate which will keep their ground, and what the state of knowledge in relation to them will be from year to year. In this condition of things it has seemed to me to be very undignified for a Catholic to commit himself to the work of chasing what might turn out to be phantoms, and in behalf of some special objections to be ingenious in devising a theory which, before it was completed, might have to give place to some theory newer still, from the fact that those former objections had already come to nought under the uprising of others. It seemed to be a time of all others in which Christians had a call to be patient, in which they had no other way of helping those who were alarmed than that of exhorting them to have a little faith and fortitude, and to 'beware,' as the poet says, 'of dangerous steps.' This seemed so clear to me, the more I thought, as to make me surmise that, if I attempted what had so little promise in it, I should find that the highest Catholic authority was

against the attempt, and that I should have spent my time and my thought in doing what either it would be imprudent to bring before the public at all, or what, did I do so, would only complicate matters further which were already complicated more than enough. And I interpret recent acts of that authority as fulfilling my expectation; I interpret them as tying the hands of a controversialist, such as I should be, and teaching us that true wisdom which Moses inculcated on his people when the Egyptians were pursuing them: 'Fear ye not, stand still; the Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace.' And so far from finding a difficulty in obeying in this case, I have cause to be thankful and to rejoice to have so clear a direction in a matter of difficulty."

Thus it was that Newman, without attempting to go to the bottom of the subject, or, above all, without engaging in controversy, marked out, not only for Protestants, but also for Catholics, the broad lines of the *via media* in which he desired to walk, between the audacities of certain "Liberals" and the exaggerations of the "Ultras." That these last saw there a repudiation of their extreme views is not surprising. But it would be difficult to understand how they could find there reasons for suspecting the orthodoxy and faith of the distinguished convert, if one did not know the length to which party spirit can run even in the most earnest and best-educated minds.

IX

These prejudices showed themselves, at that very moment, in a matter which was specially painful to Newman. From the day of his conversion he had been impressed by the need of ending the disadvantages in which, under old proscriptions, the Catholics were placed with regard

to University education. It was on this account that he had accepted the appointment of rector of the University founded by the Irish Bishops, and that, in spite of so much discouragement, he had prolonged his efforts for seven years. At that time he held the opinion that a University exclusively Catholic was much to be preferred to a mixed or neutral University, though he did not deny that, in certain cases and for want of a better, it might be convenient to adopt that last expedient, if certain precautions were adopted.

In 1854 the abolition of religious tests before entrance to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge led Newman to consider more closely the question of the presence of Catholics in Protestant Universities. He realized that the young English Catholics, whom he had so much difficulty in attracting to Dublin, would be tempted to take advantage of the gate now opened to them; such a result might be the ruin of the work to which he had devoted himself in Ireland. In a letter to one of the English Bishops, Monsignor Grant, he pointed out the dangers which Catholic undergraduates would incur if they were left to mingle with Protestant students, unless a Catholic college, or at least a "hall," which would serve as a centre for Catholic undergraduates were provided for them, and he could not resist adding that, if any foundation of that kind were to be made at Oxford, he would feel himself more at home there than in Dublin. In spite of the great change in his life, Newman was still "an Oxford man."

After resigning his position as head of the Irish University, in 1858, Newman felt more than ever inclined to think of his beloved Oxford. Some young Catholic

students began to arrive there, few in number as yet, because the colleges were not accustomed to receive them. Catholic families of some standing attached great importance to the social advantages which the Universities would give to their sons. Certain members of the Catholic clergy, including several Bishops, dreamt of the foundation of a Catholic college at Oxford. Cardinal Wiseman, among others, had been attracted from the first by the idea of seeing his fellow-Catholics re-enter thus into the intellectual Metropolis from which they had been excluded for three centuries; that re-entry appeared to him a part of the work of reparation and reconciliation that he had so largely in view. Naturally enough, Newman's name at once suggested itself, to those who thought that Catholics could again go to Oxford, as that of the man best fitted to preside at such a return, and to minimize its dangers. Newman, for his part, was ready to respond to this appeal. He felt that the still active memory of the moral ascendancy he had exercised during his first apostolate in Oxford would aid him to do more good there than anywhere else.

In 1864 the looked-for occasion seemed to offer itself. Newman found a sufficiently large plot of ground for sale in Oxford. With the concurrence of his Bishop, Monsignor Ullathorne, and several Catholics of distinction, he announced the intention of erecting there a church, and establishing an Oratorian convent. There was, for the moment, no question of founding a college or a hall, nor of doing anything which would imply some kind of co-operation in the work of the University. But that Newman should be again at Oxford would in itself be an event pregnant with possibilities. What might not the

Protestants fear, and the Catholics hope, from his return?

When Pusey heard of this project, the news disturbed him. He no doubt understood that the Roman Catholics had started it; he was, indeed, surprised that they had not thought of it before. From his own point of view, he was afraid of Newman's influence at Oxford. He feared lest his presence there should ruin the influence of the High Church party, and reawaken ultra-Protestant enthusiasm. He therefore endeavoured, by indirect means, to induce Newman to abandon his plan.[1]

But there was no means, on that side, of interfering with Newman. More serious and unexpected difficulties came from the Catholic side. The question of the presence of Catholics at the National Universities had become one of those on which the "Liberals" of the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review* disputed with their adversaries of the *Dublin Review*. The ardour with which those "Liberals" extolled the frequentation of these Universities by Catholics, the nature of some of their arguments, the indiscretion with which some of their partisans acted—a certain Ffoulkes, for instance, who soon after returned to Protestantism—made the proposal suspect to those who were disturbed by Liberalism. Manning and Ward declared strongly against it in the *Dublin Review*. They cited the condemnations recently pronounced by Pius IX. against mixed education. Undoubtedly there was an answer to that objection, because to-day the religious authorities, headed by those of Rome, permit Catholics in England to frequent the National Universities. They are of opinion that on the whole,

[1] *Life of Puscy*, vol. iv., pp. 103-105.

considering the particular conditions of that country, such frequentation has more advantages than disadvantages, and the experience of every day shows that they are right. But time has been needful to arrive at that conclusion.

Newman's plan, as soon as it was announced, had thus to encounter a powerful opposition, conducted by Ward and Manning. It was in vain that the supporters of the project declared that it did not touch the question of the frequentation of the University by Catholic youths. The mere presence of Newman in Oxford, was the reply, would attract such youths to the University. In consequence of representations made at Rome, the congregation of the Propaganda invited the English Bishops to deliberate on the question. Manning worked upon the Bishops, and so great was his influence over the aged Cardinal Wiseman, that the Cardinal declared against the presence of Catholics at the National Universities, although he had at first regarded it favourably.

Such was the spirit in which the Bishops met to consider the question, that Newman, the most directly concerned and most competent witness, was never asked for his opinion. Carried out under such conditions, the meeting of the Bishops, which took place on December 13, 1864, resulted in a declaration that the project of founding an Oratory at Oxford was inopportune. Newman soon afterwards wrote to Monsignor Ullathorne that he abandoned his project, and proceeded to resell his piece of land to the University.

Newman was very sad, less because of the check to his plan than because of the mistrust of himself shown by the heads of his Church. He was conscious that he

deserved better treatment, nor was he unaware of the considerable part that Manning had played in this affair. As to the change in Wiseman's attitude, he was all the more affected by it, because he esteemed the Cardinal so highly. As we shall see later on, this question of Oxford was not definitely decided; it was to come up again. But the decisions to which it had given rise were regrettable. On hearing of the conversion of Newman, Dean Stanley had declared that the consequences would be incalculable. After all, he said, that Newman had done as an Anglican, what might he not accomplish as a Roman Catholic?[1] How, then, could one suppose that it would be from Catholics themselves that opposition to Newman's influence would come?

Our humiliation is yet the greater when we see that the Anglican friends of the eminent convert were aware of the species of disgrace in which he was held by a party in the Church to which he now belonged, and that these old friends felt pity for him in regard to it. An affectionate letter which Church had received from Newman in 1861, wherein he noted the reserve which the writer showed concerning his position at that time, led Church to remark that there was no more gratitude among the Roman Catholics towards Newman than there had been among the Anglicans.[2] Rogers, who visited Newman at Edgbaston, said in a letter that he appeared to him "like a fish out of water," separated as he was from nearly all his former friends, on cold terms with the old Roman Catholics, and having no longer any interest except in the seventy or eighty children of converts who were pupils in his school.

[1] *Life of Dean Stanley*, vol. i., p. 343.
[2] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 158.

He saw him forsaken by Dalgairns and by Faber, having no one but Saint-John who remained attached to him.[1]

In any case, Rogers and Church were not led to believe, as did some others who saw things from a greater distance, that such disappointments could shake Newman's faith and bring him back to the Church of England. Newman himself, moreover, had taken care not to leave any room for doubt on that point. He lost no opportunity of affirming his faith in the Church to which he now belonged. Already, in 1862, he had declared, for the benefit of those who believed him wavering in his fidelity, that he had not had one moment of hesitation since he became a Catholic, and that the thought of the Anglican service and of the Thirty-Nine Articles made him shudder.[2]

X

The man who, by his position and character, seemed called upon to intervene in the unhappy differences among Catholics, to bring the extremists on either side to reason, and to carry out a policy of conciliation, was Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England. His kindly disposition made him desire to be at peace with all the world. His generous mind was repelled by exaggerations and narrow views, by the spirit of exclusiveness and excommunication.

But, at the time of which we are speaking, the will-power of the Cardinal, which had never been very strong, was enfeebled by age and illness. Far from seeking to dominate the conflict, he sought rather to keep out of the

[1] *Letters of Lord Blachford*, pp. 246-250.
[2] *Cardinal Newman*, by Henry Jennings, p. 103.

fighting. Frequently compelled by his health to retire to his house in the country, he willingly prolonged his visits there, pleased to dwell on the memories of his past life, or finding rest and relaxation in composing Latin hymns, and plays intended to be acted by the pupils in convents. The painful recollection of his long contest with his coadjutor increased that thirst for tranquillity. Manning took advantage of the Cardinal's state of mind in order to further his own views.

However anxious he might be for rest, Wiseman now and then came out of his retreat. Thus, at the Congress of Malines, at the side of Montalembert, and before an audience composed of Catholics from every country, he had given an address in which he described the progress of Catholicism in England. As long as his health allowed him, he continued to give lectures upon various subjects. His success was considerable, and the criticisms in the newspapers became more and more favourable. On all sides learned societies and philanthropic bodies sought his assistance. Whenever he was ill, letters came from clergymen of different denominations suggesting remedies. Wiseman was delighted by this popularity, comparing it with the hostile demonstrations of the campaign against the "papal aggression."[1]

Wiseman's amiable relations with English opinion did not, however, prevent him from condemning, in an indignant manifesto, the unexampled honours paid to Garibaldi on his visit to London, not only by the populace, but by the leaders of English society, including the Bishops; he reminded these prelates of the impious and atheistical declarations recently made by the *condottiere*. The *Times*

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 491-498.

tried to dispute this last assertion, but, after a reply from the Cardinal, it had to admit that he was right.

In that same year, 1864, England bestirred herself to prepare for celebrating the third centenary of Shakespeare's birth. Wiseman was invited to sit on the organizing committee, and also to give a public lecture. He agreed to the proposal. "I have considered it," he wrote to a friend, "quite a matter of religious importance to accept, as it has a good influence to see such a national subject thrown into Catholic hierarchical hands."

After several postponements, the lecture was fixed for January 27, 1865, and, in spite of his declining health, he eagerly set to work at its preparation. But, at the beginning of January, he became seriously ill, and it was soon evident, to himself as to others, that he had not long to live. He lingered for several weeks, edifying those who were with him by his gentleness, his faith, and his piety. "I think," he said one day, "a good many will be sorry for me—Protestants I mean. I don't think they will always think me such a monster."

His last counsels to the members of his Chapter were to seek peace and union, even at the price of abandoning their personal opinions. He asked that Manning should return from Rome, but he had difficulty in recognizing him when he came. Some days later, on February 15, he passed away.[1]

The funeral of Wiseman was an event. One was able to judge, by the crowd of priests, monks, and Catholic laymen, and by the splendour of the ceremonial, of the development of Catholicism in England under his primacy. When one saw the emotion shown throughout the country,

[1] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., chap. xxx.

the evidences of regret and respect coming from the Protestants themselves, the almost unanimous eulogies in the newspapers, the presence at the funeral of distinguished personages, and, above all, the immense number of people who either passed before the coffin, or crowded the streets when the funeral procession went by—in a word, all the signs of a national mourning which the *Times*, astonished, compared with that for the Duke of Wellington in 1852—one could realize the position which, in spite of many difficulties, Wiseman had won in English society, alike for himself, for the high office which he filled, and for the Church which he represented.

CHAPTER IV

HIGH CHURCH—BROAD CHURCH

(1845—1865)

I. The failure of the Tractarian Movement leaves the field open for religious liberation—The Broad Church party—Its anti-dogmatic tendencies—Its introduction of German Biblical criticism—Its Erastianism. II. *Stanley:* His first works—His qualities—He is suspect to the orthodox party—Vagueness of his religious opinions—His tolerance—He has no scruple in remaining a dignitary of the Church—His share in the reform and tendency to secularization of the Universities. III. *Jowett:* His early publications—Opposition to his appointment as Regius Professor of Greek—His scepticism—State of mind of the new generation at the University—Irreligious influences. IV. The Broad Church outside Oxford: Maurice, Hort, Robertson. V. *Essays and Reviews:* Excitement caused by the book—Indignation of the Tractarians and Evangelicals—Article by Stanley—Embarrassment of the Bishops—Their decisions—Two of the Essayists, condemned by the Court of Arches, appeal to the Privy Council—Jowett is denounced to the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford. VI. The excitement among the religious public is increased by Bishop Colenso's book on the Pentateuch—Joint letter of the Bishops—The Bishop of Capetown summons Colenso before him and pronounces his deposition—Colenso appeals to the Queen in Council. VII. The Privy Council decides in favour of the Essayists—Triumph of the Broad Church and dismay of their opponents—Pusey's Declaration widely signed—Convocation condemns the *Essays and Reviews*.

I

DURING the ten years following Manning's conversion, Pusey and his friends, distrusted by their fellow-churchmen, could only stand upon the defensive and face

their accusers, who belonged mostly to the Low Church party. It was not until 1860 that the unexpectedly widespread stir caused by the publication of a book gave them an occasion of attack, and of acting in their turn as defenders of Anglican tradition against innovation. But it was no longer the Evangelicals of the Low Church with whom they were at war. They actually had them for allies in a struggle against a very different and more modern school, which for some few years had begun to be known as the Broad Church party. To understand the meaning of this term, and the cause of the conflict, we must retrace our steps a little.

Newman's ruling motive ever since the beginning of the Oxford Movement had been to combat what he called religious Liberalism: otherwise anti-dogmatic latitudinarianism. All that Tractarianism gained at the University was loss to Liberalism, while Liberalism profited by whatever weakened Tractarianism. Thus, at the end of 1841, the first blow which Newman's influence sustained, in the condemnation of *Tract* 90, was immediately counterbalanced by the striking success with which Arnold, one of the representatives of the Liberal school, inaugurated his career as Regius Professor. And later on, when the leader of the movement felt obliged to submit to Rome, one of his chief sources of anxiety, as he has himself related, was a sure "presentiment" that his secession would lead to the preponderance of Liberalism.[1]

[1] "The most oppressive thought, in the whole process of my change of opinion, was the clear anticipation, verified by the event, that it would issue in the triumph of Liberalism. Against the anti-dogmatic principle I had thrown my whole mind; yet now I was doing more than anyone else could do to promote it. I was one of those who had kept it at bay in Oxford for so many years, and thus

This prevision was to be confirmed after Newman's conversion, when Tractarianism, but lately so vigorous in Oxford, appeared to die away. So much of it as survived the crisis, owing to Pusey's influence, pushed farther afield, and the central impulse of the High Church Movement no longer emanated from the University, but was to be found in town or country parsonages, where it gradually underwent a change, becoming less doctrinal, more practical, and finally eventuating in Ritualism. The Liberal school deemed the time favourable for regaining at Oxford the influence it had lost through the Tractarians. Represented by the disciples of Arnold, it showed itself full of renewed vigour, and quickly superseded the older Liberalism. It was sympathetic, large-minded, and enthusiastic, seriously devout and religious in spite of its vagueness of belief, and had nothing in common with the careless, somewhat sceptical indifference, the dry, prosaic formalism and spiritual anæmia, of the latitudinarians of the eighteenth century.

The name *Broad Church* was given to this new school to distinguish it from the High Church and the Low Church. It may have been first used in an Oxford

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my very retirement was its triumph. . . . But this was not all. As I have already said, there are but two alternatives—the way to Rome and the way to Atheism. Anglicanism is the half-way house on the one side, and Liberalism is the half-way house on the other. How many men were there, as I knew full well, who would not follow me now in my advance from Anglicanism to Rome, but would at once leave Anglicanism and me for the Liberal camp! . . . The dogmatic and the Anglican principle were one, as I had taught them; but I was breaking the *via media* to pieces, and would not dogmatic faith altogether be broken up, in the minds of a great number, by the demolition of the *via media?* Oh, how unhappy this made me!" (*Apologia*).

common-room,[1] or possibly by Stanley in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1850. At any rate, in 1853 it was used by Conybeare in the same *Review* as a quite common expression. It meant less an organized party, whose views were precisely delineated, than a mental attitude and tendency. Broad Churchmen distrusted any authoritative institution or too positive doctrine. They were not disconcerted by the difficulties of modern criticism and science, considering dogmas as open questions with which criticism was free to deal, and preventing discord by suppressing resistance. They desired a Church "comprehensive" to the extent that men who disagreed on important theological questions might therein be united.[2] To them, a Church with a body of definite and essential doctrine, opposed to any intercourse with heresy, was a narrow conception, and far from repudiating such intercourse, it had for them a certain fascination. They were as impatient of dogma as they were well disposed to the negations, or at least the doubts, of criticism.

At this very time Biblical criticism began to penetrate into England from Germany.[3] Irrefragable science claimed to disperse the mysterious clouds in which the Bible, as formerly Mount Sinai, had been enveloped. As is usually the case with undertakings of the human mind, this new science was intermingled with progressive

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 35.

[2] Dean Merivale humorously said to his friend Dean Lake: "The Church of England is a splendid institution; it can contain two men who differ on every point of theology, like you and me" (*Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 3).

[3] The *Revue Germanique* published the results of German criticism in France. It was started in 1858. Renan's *Vie de Jésus* appeared in 1863.

notions which compelled apologists to modify their accepted positions, and it also put forward advanced statements which, if accepted, would shatter the foundations of Christian revelation. It was disquieting to faith, and disconcerting to men of routine, so that from the first the defenders of tradition were bent upon repressing all its results, not only those warrantably suspect, but even such as were soon to win general acceptance. Although the innovators have been forced to retract some of their statements, and conservative Catholics have been obliged to yield more than one untenable position, the result of the errors and the truths spread abroad by the new science of criticism is still far from being at an end. The problem is in the hands of the Christian apologists, and no one can say when they will agree upon a definitive solution.

These investigations are more especially serious for English Protestantism, which has retained, from its Puritan origin, not only reverence for, but superstition with regard to, the Bible. It is accustomed to seek and to find in the very letter of Holy Scripture Divine oracles, as it were, capable of answering all the questionings of the human spirit. It differs in this from Catholicism, which recognizes, besides the Bible, an infallible Church to interpret it and a living tradition to complete it. Pusey recognized this when writing on February 12, 1870, to the Bishop of Winchester: "The Bible, more than the Church, holds the masses of Englishmen to Christianity: their source of faith is, I believe, the Bible. If their confidence in the Bible is shaken, so will be their Christianity."[1] It would seem to be for this reason, through a more or less

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 230.

conscious intuition of danger, that England was slow to welcome the labours of German exegesis. In the first half of the nineteenth century Anglican theologians, even the most liberal, held themselves systematically aloof from such problems, as though they either ignored or dreaded their gravity, and in the religious controversies of Oxford they had no place.[1] It was only after Newman's secession, and in consequence of the "Liberal" reaction at the University, that Biblical criticism at last broke in upon the old Anglican theology. The seniors were scandalized, and showed their consternation. The Rector of Lincoln College, preaching before the University, expressed the wish that "German theology and German literature might be at the bottom of the German Ocean." The adherents of the Broad Church propagated this criticism. Urged on by the prevailing influence and by the natural tendency of their school, they appropriated the most adventurous conclusions, and far from caring to preserve traditional views, seemed to enjoy shocking those who cherished them.

The religion of the Broad Churchmen was essentially individualistic. They had a taste for criticism, and, distrusting all spiritual rule or any dogmatic authority, they were disposed to see in Christianity less a visible institution of divine origin than a personal sentiment by which to regulate at will their relations with God, and to understand in their own way the character and position of Christ. And yet, by some strange conclusion, the same men declared themselves upholders of the Established Church and the absolute supremacy of the Crown, claiming

[1] A visit to Göttingen in 1825 had, however, put Pusey on his guard, and he at any rate realized the gravity of these questions.

for the latter the right to decide, in the last resort, questions of religious doctrine and government. How explain what seems on the part of these Liberals a contradiction and a paradox? It appeared to them that there existed in such a Church, more than in any other, a guarantee against their bugbears of sacerdotalism and dogmatism. They knew that the State, by nature jealous of authority not emanating from itself, would never willingly tolerate ecclesiastical independence. Sure of never again having to deal with theologian princes such as the Byzantine Cæsars, Henry VIII. or James II., they conceived the idea of a modern State, careful to secure order and peace, suspicious on that account of dogmatic controversy and of the *odium theologicum* ensuing therefrom, desirious of reducing doctrinal teaching to a minimum, and giving judgment on questions of orthodoxy in a spirit of combined carelessness and disdain, an attitude described by Sir M. E. Grant Duff as one of "slightly cynical impartiality."[1]

II

At the beginning of the Broad Church movement two men in particular represented it at Oxford. For their

[1] It is a remarkable fact that thinkers in England without firm religious belief have, for reasons similar to those of the Broad Churchmen, been decided upholders of the State Church. For example, Lecky saw in the composite and comprehensive organization of the Established Church scope for greater latitude of opinion, a weakening of faith in the certitude and necessity of dogma, and a safeguard against clerical tyranny. Far from hoping, as did the continental Liberals, for the separation of Church from State, he desired the preservation of what he maintained to be a beneficent institution (*Democracy and Liberty*, vol. i., p. 432 *et seq.*; vol. ii., p. 14).

courage, their personalities, and the position they occupy in the history of their time, Stanley and Jowett merit cursory consideration here.

Stanley has already been described as a young man at Balliol, whither he went from Rugby, already full of devotion to his master, Arnold, yet somewhat perplexed in the midst of the Newmanites, among whom, however, he made some of his closest friends. At one time he was about to submit to the seductions of the great Tractarian, but immediately recovered himself and became confirmed in the views most congenial to him—those of an inquiring and tolerant latitudinarianism. Latitudinarianism was at that time unpopular in Oxford, and had prevented his obtaining a fellowship at Balliol, constraining him to fall back upon the much less important University College. Being appointed tutor, he quickly gained the sympathy of those placed under him. His reputation, chiefly owing to the marked success of his *Life of Arnold*, published in 1844, began to spread beyond Oxford. It was at the time when the events that had weakened Tractarianism began to give access to Liberal influences, and so it happened at the end of 1845, the great year of secession, that Stanley was chosen as University preacher. He was to be seen in 1846 and 1847 in St. Mary's pulpit, but lately occupied by Newman. There he delivered his sermons on *The Apostolic Age*, which were the first Broad Church manifestation in Oxford. There he applied himself to introduce into scriptural study and religious history the method and results of German criticism. He followed up this task in the years following by a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (1855), and by a work in aid of geographic

restitution entitled *Sinai and Palestine* (1856), for which labours Lord Palmerston nominated him, at the close of 1856, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. His avowed object was to present the Bible, not, as had hitherto been the case, as a collection of abstract truths and dogmatic instructions, but as an historical document which must be put in its right place among others also bearing upon biblical epochs. Moreover, some years before, questions raised by the Gorham affair had furnished him with the occasion of bringing to light another aspect of Broad Church opinions. Far from being displeased or embarrassed by the Royal Supremacy, he hailed it, with his master Arnold, as a rare blessing from God. The jurisdiction of the civil courts was to him a valuable and necessary safeguard against clerical intolerance and theological fanaticism.

In the service of the ideas that he sought to propagate, Stanley displayed gifts as writer and orator which, though not comparable with those of Newman, lacked neither distinction nor charm. Professing neither profound erudition nor great originality, he had an open and inquiring mind, rare powers of assimilation, an ingenious even brilliant, way of popularizing knowledge, and a power of evoking the past in its true colours which Disraeli referred to as his gift of "picturesque sensibility." There was unusual charm in his conversation and all who knew him in those days retained an indelible memory of his Sunday evening receptions, of the breakfasts to which his pupils were invited, and of the long walks during which he entertained them with so much ease and grace. He added liberality to good advice when there was need, and the distinction of his

personality, birth, and worldly fortune, were not likely to lessen his popularity.

While Stanley's renown increased in Oxford and elsewhere, it did not fail to awaken among the supporters of traditional views much anxiety and suspicion. This had long prevented the Government from conferring a professorship upon him. He himself knew it, and spoke humorously of "the odour of his heterodoxy which had penetrated not only the council of the heads of Colleges but even the Whig Cabinet." Evangelicals and High Churchmen, now of one accord, were equally scared. There was, of course, in the uneasiness of men so careful of tradition some degree of old-fashioned prejudice. If the introduction of the historical method into Scriptural study upset accredited positions, Christian thinking ought, as a lawful and needful parallel, to trim its course in such a way as to derive benefit therefrom. But apprehensions were more justified when Church demanded whether, by dint of desire to bring to light the human and purely historic truth of religious facts, Stanley was not losing sight of their divinity and theological value;[1] and when Keble and Pusey were saddened to find in his writings indications of a mind determined not to assert the personal Divinity of Christ and to avoid all mention of the miracles it was difficult not to conclude that his Christain faith was incomplete, or, at least, uncertain.

Those who doubted Stanley's orthodoxy were not deceived, although it was not easy to make any precise statement as to his beliefs. He himself felt neither the desire nor the need to formulate them. He did not hide his aversion from dogmatic or metaphysical assertions, only

[1] *Occasional Papers of Dean Church*, vol. i., p. 66 *et seq.*

seeing in them material for worldly disputes. He almos completely lacked interest in dogma, which in his eye was of quite secondary import. He considered morals upon which he thought dogmatic beliefs had no effect, th important matter, and proclaimed that salvation coul not depend upon holding this article or that. Besides history, in the light of which he judged all things, seeme only to offer proofs of the Church's errors and contradic tions in doctrinal matters. His creed was limited t faith in God the Father, to whom he directed his prayers future life he admitted, but not Hell; Christ filled hi thoughts, and was the model for his conduct and th object of his love and admiration. Although a strange to that spiritual and mystic life so real to Newman, Keble and Pusey, he possessed, as it were, a piety anxious t realize in himself and in others the natural virtues o which Christ was the example. He would not mak formal declarations, though in some measure he seeme to admit the Incarnation, the Word made flesh, Chris not only the Son of God, but very God. He held tha though Christ had given us an ideal of life, He had no established a dogmatic teaching.

Stanley found in the Gospel, from which he loved t draw spiritual sustenance, the living person of Christ, no the code of a religious system. As to the Divine institu tion of the Church, her hierarchy, her supernatural powers her sacraments, such did not exist for him; and ordina tion was scarcely more than the appointment of a publi officer. His own dogmatic indifference, combined witl his amiable and benevolent nature, inspired him with wide tolerance, and an impartial curiosity concerning al doctrines, even those which were most foreign to hi

views. Far from being a party to Protestant prejudice against Popery and Papists, he maintained friendly relations with more than one convert. He remained tenderly attached to his sister, who became a Catholic, and after her death put a memorial slab in the chapel where she had been accustomed to worship. When his travels brought him to Rome, he showed himself sensible to the greatness and the hopes of Catholicism, though it is true that soon afterwards the ceremonies of the Kremlin and Mount Athos left him no less moved. But he was most in sympathy with all who swerved aside from traditional dogmas. He had a liking for heretics and heresy, and was irritated by those who condemned them.

Stanley's tolerance for the heresies of others was backed up by an absolute tranquillity concerning his own doubts. He knew nothing of the anguish which had been the lot of so many souls. Whatever breaches criticism might seem to make in the old beliefs, he was not troubled, for questions of dogma were to him non-essentials. But although he had no firm faith in any particular dogma, it never occurred to him that he had ceased to belong to the Church of England, and ought not to continue as one of her dignitaries. When young, at the time of his ordination, he had had scruples as to whether he ought to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, especially to that involving adherence to the Athanasian Creed, and he believed it his duty to announce to the Archdeacon his inability to accept all its clauses. Not without some impatience, the Archdeacon had given him to understand that it was unnecessary to press matters too closely or to take them too seriously, so Stanley felt satisfied, by the acknowledgment of superiors, that these were only verbal

formalities at which his conscience need not be troubled Thus reassured on his own account, he applied himsel throughout life to putting at their ease such clergymen a were troubled at seeing their dogmatic creed bit by bi crumble away. He instanced those who, in similar cir cumstances, having deemed it their duty to resign thei ecclesiastical offices, had afterwards repented; whil others, who had been persuaded by him to retain theirs had eventually been well content.

"I myself (though, as you know, I have entered mucl into these subjects, and have, in the judgment of man excellent men, perhaps of the majority of my own pro fession, deviated widely from the popular views enter tained of theology and religion) have found no practica difficulty in maintaining what, in my humble opinion, i at once an honourable and a tenable position."[2]

Stanley did not confine himself to propagating th new doctrines in Oxford, though he laboured there witl the purpose of making important modifications in th University institutions. For years a movement directe against the aristocratic and clerical organization of th University had been on foot. It was felt with regre that the predominance of collegiate life had harmed th University as a whole, with the result of excluding youth of moderate means and of lowering the standard of th lectures. The courses were thought to be too exclusivel classical and theological, insufficient attention being give to modern sciences, and a great cause of complaint wa that men had to submit to religious tests in order to b admitted to a college and to take degrees, and tha

[1] *Life of Stanley*, vol. i., p. 225 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 479.

certain scholarships and fellowships could only be obtained by entering the ministry. All of this was declared to be a survival of the Middle Ages, incompatible with the conditions of modern society. Such critics further contended that in the Tractarian crisis all parties had in turn complained of the University authorities, and it was recognized that reforms were necessary in more directions than one. However, resistance in Oxford was strong, and had long held the innovators in check. The old conservative spirit was indignant and afraid at seeing institutions so venerable threatened, Pusey and his friends being among its most ardent champions.

Things were at this stage when, in 1850, after some incidents in Parliament, Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, who bore the University of Oxford some ill-will for having given birth to Tractarianism, instituted a Commission to inquire into and study the suggested reforms. The commissioners were in general hostile to the High Church. One of them was Tait, then Dean of Carlisle, afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury; the secretary was Stanley. Both took leading parts in drawing up the report that summarized the labours of the Commission, and advocated important reforms. A tremendous outcry was raised against it in Oxford; but it was followed in 1854 by a Bill, in many ways modifying the organization of the University, diminishing the privileges of colleges, increasing the number of professors, and, above all, making the first rupture in the system of religious tests and clerical requirements. The old order passed, giving way to a new evolution which was destined to last, and to end in complete secularization. Stanley triumphed, whilst Pusey and his friends grieved to see

their old University so changed. Yet it cannot be said that the outcome has justified the alarm of the Conservatives. After diverse vicissitudes, a religious condition has finally been established in Oxford of which believers say there is nothing to complain. They recognize that the faith has gained in seriousness and sincerity more than it has lost through the suppression of artificial privileges and arbitrary exclusions.

III

The second representative of the Broad Church in Oxford at this time was Benjamin Jowett. He was two years younger than Stanley, having been born in 1817 and he lacked the latter's aristocratic grace, brilliant facility, and picturesque imagination. But if less in favour with the world at large, he had perhaps a deeper influence upon the youth of the University. Though not a great scholar or powerful thinker, he was a distinguished writer, an acute critic, and above all a capable teacher. Stanley, with whom he maintained the closest relations, was always glad to remember that he had learned much from him.

Arriving at Balliol in 1836, of humble fortune and family, Jowett had a successful career. He showed a certain reserve and was somewhat timid, although his ideas were even then strong and independent. In spite of a passing tendency to Newmanism, his bent was openly latitudinarian. He became tutor in 1842, and his duties in that capacity developed and afforded scope for his educational gifts. He took a general interest in his pupils, not only gauging their mental ability, but carefully drawing out whatever the capacities of each would

yield, with a certain candour and ingenuity which were mingled with his scepticism.

Even before he had published anything Jowett was suspected. He perceived as much when, in 1854, having sought the Mastership of Balliol, he saw a more orthodox candidate preferred. This caused him some vexation. During the following year, at the same time that Stanley published his commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians, Jowett prepared his on those to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans. Like Stanley, he echoed German criticism, without doing anything to prove original erudition; but his style was drier and more didactic, and therefore proved more offensive to the upholders of tradition. He had besides inserted in his book an essay on the Atonement which contradicted current Anglican theology, and which Pusey set himself to refute, when called upon to preach a series of sermons before the University.

At this time, Lord Palmerston, who was nothing loath to shock the clergy, nominated Jowett Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. The sensation was great among both Evangelicals and Puseyites, more especially as the professor of Greek, who had to supervise the study of the text of the Scriptures, was on that account a member of the theological committee. Golightly, an active Evangelical, who had been the leader of the movement against *Tract* 90, but who abhorred Germanism as much as Newmanism, joined with several others in denouncing Jowett to the Vice-Chancellor as having denied the Catholic faith. The Vice-Chancellor cited Jowett to appear before him, and at once requested him to sign anew the Thirty-nine Articles. His accusers thought they

might thus bring him to book, for the articles containe propositions that Jowett, not without reason, was thougl to consider inadmissible. He was much annoyed by th affair, but resolved not to take the subscription seriousl As the Vice-Chancellor began to address a sort of sermc to him, he interrupted, saying that he had come to sig and immediately proceeded to do so. He wrote t Stanley to the effect that he could not do otherwise witl out relinquishing his position as a clergyman. He pe sisted to the end in thus viewing the matter, never seen ing to experience the least difficulty, and always advisir his followers to avoid whatever might bring about rupture with the Church; recommending prudence an even at need a little dissimulation. He disliked the ide of an open rupture, believing that religion might b rendered broad enough to make room for all doubts an even all negations.

Nothing could seem more inconsistent and uncerta than the state of Jowett's mind at this period. One his followers has written that "his mind seemed often be in a state of flux. Some of his opinions varied, n merely from decade to decade or from year to year, b from conversation to conversation."[1]

He called himself a Christian and a member of th Church of England, and indeed he was not lacking religious feeling, although he always seemed to ha difficulty in finding a way of expressing it. But upc what beliefs was it grounded? Jowett had perhaps n then arrived at the absolute scepticism of the end of h life, when he seemed to doubt the Resurrection, the futu life, the personality of God and even moral liberty; b

[1] *Benjamin Jowett*, by Tollemache, p. 79.

already the principal truths of Christianity had been, as it were, uprooted in his mind. He was ready to relax his hold on any one of them before an attack of criticism, being disposed *a priori* to consider theology in the wrong, while the clergy inspired him with mistrust and antipathy. In 1846 he wrote to Stanley that he believed treason to the clergy to be loyalty to the Church, and that if religion could be saved it would be by statesmen, and not by clergymen. His influence upon youth was wholly destructive of dogmatic conviction. Huxley, a complete unbeliever, said of Jowett, intending to pay him a compliment, "I call him a disintegrator."

It is not surprising that the orthodox looked askance at him. Nevertheless, the form in which their opposition was shown was not always happy. The Greek professorship to which Jowett had been appointed had officially allotted to it only a paltry sum of forty pounds, and it was the custom for the University to complete it with an allocation. When the question of making this was submitted to Convocation, the majority opposed it in order to mark their distrust of the professor's teaching. Their somewhat mean resistance lasted for several years, until the Chapter of Christ Church found a way of charging itself with the expense. Jowett was much mortified by this opposition, and bore some ill-feeling to Pusey, who had been concerned in it. Having little taste for polemics, he did not reply to those who attacked him, but screened himself in a silence which was not without bitterness, though he was consoled for these hostilities, as time went on, by the respectful and ever-growing sympathy accorded him by the youth of the University.

Jowett and Stanley had, on the whole, reason for satis-

faction in the new generation of Oxford students. N doubt they found scarcely a trace of the theologic passion, the enthusiastic spiritual life, which had illumine Newman's discourses, and which, according to them, ha done great harm to secular science. They had succeede in bringing the youth of the University back to earth fro the heaven into which it seemed to them to have straye too far. But did they now see it obeying other mo practical influences as noble as those from which they ha drawn it away? Had they succeeded in arousing in it virile and ardent desire for scientific truth, and a moralit which, though more humane, should not, according t them, be less effectual? Upon their own acknowled ment the answer seems doubtful. Jowett confessed tha since the arrest of the Tractarian Movement, "while som of us took to German philosophy, others turned to lobste suppers and champagne."[1]

In 1858 Stanley, on returning to Oxford after som months' absence, wrote:

"The dusty, secular, dried up aspect of the place is ver unpleasing. The stiffness of the undergraduates in soci intercourse is only surpassed by their marvellous lack interest (as far as appears in my lectures) in anything lik theological study. . . . Of the Balliol youth, I see bu little. None of them come to my lectures, which, presume, arises from the fact that none of them go int Orders, a feature in the prospects of the Church England far darker than any of those about which ou agitators and alarmists are so wild."[2]

Several years before, Maurice, who in certain ways allie himself to the Broad Church, after having spent son

[1] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, by Abbot, vol. i., p. 74.
[2] *Life of Stanley*, vol. ii., pp. 2, 3.

time in Oxford with Stanley, stated that among the University youth all seemed stagnant and dead. And when someone said to him that there was perhaps a movement towards infidelity, he replied that he thought not, and that if there was abundance of infidelity it was passive and stagnant. Others, like Maurice's friend Hort, thought more seriously of this danger of infidelity.

Examples are not wanting of some who were impelled to absolute unbelief. By the side of men like Stanley and Jowett, who stopped short midway in the vague region of the Broad Church, others went the whole length of religious negation. Some of these had been disabused of Newmanism, like Mark Pattison and J. A. Froude, the brother of Hurrell, who published in 1849 *The Nemesis of Faith*, a sad account of the failure of belief; and others had sprung from Arnoldism, as had one of the sons of Arnold (Matthew), and Clough, both poets, the former an eminent thinker besides. It is scarcely necessary to add that other influences equally inimical to the Christian faith combined at this epoch to penetrate Oxford: that of the Positivism of Congreve and Frederic Harrison, and that of Darwinism expounded in a materialistic sense by Huxley.

IV

If Stanley and Jowett were the principal representatives of the Broad Church party in Oxford, there were others outside the University who were generally reckoned as belonging to the same school. One of the best known of them was Frederick Denison Maurice, whose friends at that time spoke of him as a saint and a kind of prophet.

He was a man of prayer, self-abnegation and humility, and had, without any unusual qualities as a writer or orator an apostolic gift for raising souls to God, and stirring in them love for virtue and disinterested enthusiasm. Born in 1805, a Unitarian, he was converted to Anglicanism at the age of twenty-six, when he took Orders and exercised his ministry first in the provinces and then in London. Followers and fervent admirers gathered round him. Many children born in London about the middle of the century received the name of Maurice in his honour. He was not entirely absorbed by religious questions. Intensely solicitous for the common weal, he thought the clergy remiss in fulfilling their duties to the people, and under the pressure of the events of 1848 he became a kind of Christian Socialist. He was followed and even outstripped in this direction by his friend Charles Kingsley, whose attacks in after years provoked Newman to write the *Apologia*.

Maurice was much opposed to the High Church, the Tractarians, and the English Catholics. He declared it his wish to oppose Pusey in the Protestant combat, and while admitting the existence of a Catholic Church, rejected the Catholic system. Puseyism and all so-called orthodoxy seemed to him to tend to substitute dogma for God; so much so that such orthodoxy veritably bordered upon practical atheism. He was even less well disposed to the Evangelicals of the Low Church for their sectarianism and the narrowness of their theology. Thus he came to be identified with the Broad Churchmen, and was often seen to act in concert with them, especially in defending those who were persecuted by the orthodox on account of their doctrines. Having been Professor of

Theology at King's College, London, from 1846, he published in 1853 a book in which he contested the doctrines of the last Judgment and of Eternal Punishment. The College Council disapproved to the extent of dismissing him, but the veneration with which he was surrounded was only increased by this measure, against which all adherents of the Broad Church rose to support him.

Yet even after this, when Maurice was understood to have ranged himself with the Broad Church, he protested against the name.

On many points, especially with regard to Biblical criticism and state supremacy in religious matters, he was opposed to the ideas of the Broad Churchmen. He found them too indifferent to theological questions, or, as he said, too "emphatically anti-theological." Whatever his sympathy for Stanley, he complained of his being too much of a historian and too little of a theologian; he condemned his Erastianism and reproached him for being a "bigot for toleration." The fact is that he was really not only more religious and more believing, but also more dogmatic than the ordinary Broad Churchman. It was only from his fear of lessening the comprehensiveness of his Church, and of falling into the sectarianism that he abhorred, that he eschewed precise formularies, leaving for those who would have read and sought out his true thoughts nothing but an impression of vagueness and uncertainty. He was continually on his guard against the evil of judging or excommunicating others, being disposed to see in every man who obeyed the voice of his conscience the presence and personal governance of Christ. He never thought that what he himself believed to be the truth should be

accepted by all as such; it was for each to search out truth by the light of his own conscience.[1]

Maurice had many disciples who, while following the principles of his school, thought independently, and often differed from their leader. One of the most important of these was Anthony Hort.[2] He was born in 1828, and belonged to an Evangelical family. He had become imbued with Arnold's views at Rugby, and had done well at Cambridge. He had not much success as a parish clergyman, for although conscientious and devoted, he was timid, and accomplished little. His sensitive, reserved nature was unfitted for active duties, but he did better when, towards the end of his life, he held various professorships of importance at the University of Cambridge. He was filially attached to Maurice, whose virtue attracted him, and whose teachings he received gratefully, but nevertheless he did not agree with all his views. His studies were principally concerned with exegesis, to which Maurice was a stranger. In other matters he was less advanced than his master. He often refused to associate himself with Broad Church enterprise, such as secularizing the Universities, and that in spite of a lively affection for Stanley, of whose Church policy he disapproved. As to Jowett, he recognized his qualities, but regarded his theological conclusions as atheistical, however little Jowett himself could be called an atheist. Although opposed to High Church ideas, which he thought anti-Liberal, he did not miss opportunities for expressing his profound admiration for Newman.

[1] *Life of Maurice, passim*, especially vol. ii., p. 608.

[2] *Life and Letters of F. J. Anthony Hort*, by his son, A. F. Hort 2 vols.

Still more than Maurice, Hort objected to being classed with any party, and delighted in saying that he sought truth in the most diverse schools, and accepted the good wherever he found it.

Later on, when the Bishop of Ely asked him to be his examining chaplain, he refused the post through fear of not being in harmony on all points with the prevailing ideas of the Church of England. Like Maurice, he especially occupied himself in striving to enlarge the *Credo* of the English Church so as to render it acceptable to men of divergent views. When consulted by a lady as to the latitude admitted by the Church of England, which she thought tended towards Catholicism, Hort did not deny the divergencies, but thought they need not cause uneasiness.

Allusion should also be made to Frederick William Robertson, whose enthusiastic, pathetic, and often eloquent style of preaching was a contrast to the general tone of the Anglican pulpit. His friends compared him to Newman, but this was doing him great honour, for he was far from being such a master of literature. He was born in 1816, and in early life showed passionate Evangelical zeal, making it his mission to combat *High Churchism*, which he declared "hateful."[1] In 1846, after an inner spiritual crisis that for a time left him much depressed, his Evangelicalism vanished and he found himself a Broad Churchman, as combative as before, though now his blows were directed against the Evangelicals. He became incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, where he drew a large following by his passionate preaching, in which he dealt with political and social, as well as theo-

[1] *Life and Letters of F. W. Robertson*, by Stopford A. Brooke.

logical, questions, and with his usual ardour took up the labour cause, working hard to solve its problems. Yet he denied the suggestion that he might be considered a disciple of Maurice.

His religious ideas, which he developed with more oratorical enthusiasm than doctrinal precision, were attached by more than one link to those of the Broad Church. He had dipped into German criticism, and contested the accepted views as to the inspiration of Scripture. He voluntarily declared himself to be against the infallibility of the Bible, sacerdotal pretensions, and the right claimed by the orthodox of declaring doctrines false and of repressing religious errors. He distrusted every dogmatic formula as prejudicial to and belying the living truth which it claimed to express. Such truth seemed to him less in need of being defined or proved than of being felt; for it should be founded not on Biblical or ecclesiastical authority, but on the testimony of God's spirit in each man's heart. Christianity in his eyes was not a system, but a life—the life of Christ. The system might change according to time and place.

This apostolate, conducted with passionate ardour brought Robertson enemies as well as followers. The Evangelicals especially disliked him as a turncoat. High Churchmen enjoyed showing up his theological vagueness whilst the advanced Liberals reproached him for being on more than one point somewhat behindhand, and of giving too much place to sentiment. In the warfare of the Press he was treated indiscriminately as theologian, socialist, or sceptic, and being sensitive, nervous, and irritable, he suffered much from these attacks, but nevertheless continued the struggle. His inspiration was always just an

generous, and he died in harness in 1853 when only thirty-seven.

This account of Broad Churchmen need not be further prolonged. In every case there is the same absence of a precise body of doctrine accepted by the whole school, and the same unrestrained scorn for the tenets of the Church. There was not one who did not manufacture his own *Credo;* not one who did not differ on capital points from all the others; not one even who came within measurable distance of giving firmness and fixity to his own personal belief. All regarded diversity as legitimate and fixity as superfluous, and none showed astonishment at a Church that could embrace men so much at variance on the primary truths of Christianity.

V

Up till now the upholders of traditional views, whether High or Low Church, though already aware of danger from the Broad Church party, had only had light and passing skirmishes with its representatives. This relative tranquillity was not destined to last. An incident arose which provoked a great contest between the conservatives and the innovators, and deeply troubled the whole religious world.

There appeared in February, 1860, without any stir, under the title *Essays and Reviews*, a volume containing seven studies by different authors, almost all clergymen, who stated that they had not collaborated and disclaimed all conjoint responsibility. The promoter of the publication was the Rev. H. B. Wilson, formerly fellow of his college at Oxford, then vicar of a parish. With him were associated Temple, Head Master of Rugby and chaplain to

Queen Victoria; Rowland Williams, vice-principal of theological college; Goodwin, a distinguished Cambridg naturalist, the only layman of the group; and finally thre Oxford dignitaries—Jowett, Baden Powell, and Pattison— the first Regius Professor of Greek, the second professo of geometry, and the third Provost of Lincoln College Stanley had refused to take part. In spite of the bond of their common Broad Church tendencies, these mei were of very different stamp and of diverse views: Temple who became Archbishop of Canterbury, showed himself a correct and capable prelate, fully meriting the gratefu praises of the High Churchmen; Pattison, on the othe hand, was already on the way to absolute religiou scepticism.

The first essay, by Temple, and the least offensive of all was on the *Education of Humanity*. Pattison, in a treatise on the Anglican theology of the eighteenth century showed up the weakness of apologetics in that epoch and seemed to doubt the conceivability of any more solid Baden Powell, with regard to the evidences of Christianity denied the reality, the possibility, and the probatory force of the miracles. Rowland Williams, in analyzing the *Biblical Researches* of Bunsen, took the opportunity o bringing forward the discoveries of German criticism Jowett treated an analogous subject in his study on the *Interpretation of Scripture*, in which he brought to light the errors of traditional exegesis, and contested the curren ideas on inspiration. Goodwin opposed the discoveries o science to the cosmogony of the Bible. Finally, Wilsor outlined the idea of a national Church without creed and without dogma, almost without a priesthood, in which the freest and most discordant opinions might co-exist at ease

The *Essays* were of unequal merit. It cannot be denied that they contained some well-founded views, that they were justified, for instance, in urging the old system of apologetics to transform and enlarge itself, in order to admit certain discoveries of Bible criticism which were bound in time to win general acceptance; but with these fragments of truth were mingled temerities justly suspect, and negations incompatible with supernatural and revealed religion. The prevailing tone of the book was harsh, aggressive, and irritating, and suggested a desire to overthrow all the theological or scriptural foundations of Christianity.

For seven or eight months the *Essays and Reviews* attracted little notice. It was the radical and free-thinking *Westminster Review*, which in October, 1860, aroused public attention by eulogizing the book, and congratulating the distinguished clergymen who had been led to adopt its own views. Thus warned, the ecclesiastical world awoke. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, headed the movement by denouncing the book in his autumn mandate, and published a still more vehement article in the *Quarterly*, in which he drew the conclusion that the Authors of the *Essays* could not with moral honesty retain their positions in the Established Church. From then onwards the agitation grew rapidly in the Universities and among the clergy. The ignorance that had till then existed concerning questions of criticism, and the predominant Anglican views as to the Bible, rendered religious men all the more sensitive to attacks that seemed to them sacrilegious, and that, coming from dignitaries of the Church, had the appearance of treason. There was on all sides an outburst of anger and con-

sternation, similar to that which had arisen ten years before on the re-establishment of the Roman hierarchy in England.

Former Tractarians were among those most moved. Pusey thought his church in great peril from the defection of those who should have served and defended her. As he then wrote, it seemed to him that the sheep were in danger of being destroyed by the shepherds, and he added, in a letter to Keble, that he had never before felt so dejected. Nevertheless, his activity was extreme; he increased his application, wrote many letters, contributed to the newspapers on controversial matters, and both as professor in the chair of Hebrew, and as preacher before the University, brought forward the questions of doctrine or of exegesis, with regard to which it seemed to him necessary to refute the *Essays and Reviews*.

In contrast with their attitude in the Gorham affair, the Low and High Church parties were now of one accord, and vied with one another in their ardour. Lord Shaftesbury was no less keen than Pusey. The *Record*, the Evangelical organ, outdid the Tractarian organ, the *Guardian*, in vehemence. Addresses signed by thousands of clergy compelled the Bishops to use their authority against the famous seven, who were now known as *Septem contra Christum*. Few were they who remained calm. R. W. Church, an old Newmanite, who followed events from his country parsonage, was one of these. While blaming the *Essays*, he acknowledged that the introduction of historical criticism into biblical questions was inevitable, and saw that precipitate and summary condemnation was useless. It was more important in his eyes to face this new science calmly and seriously, and

not to leave it exclusively in the rash hands of those who had possessed themselves of it.

Owing to the attacks of which they had been the object, the *Essays and Reviews* were now read far and wide. They had many champions in the Press. Stanley had not liked the book, and in certain respects had even found it reprehensible, but he could not see its authors at grip with a narrow and intolerant orthodoxy without going to their aid. So he entered the fray, and published a spirited article in April, 1861, in the *Edinburgh Review*, occupying himself less with justifying the articles which had been attacked than with taking to task those who had presumed to condemn them. The Essayists even found sympathizers at Court. The Princess Royal, future Empress of Germany, paid an incognito visit to Jowett, who declared himself charmed with her and her doctrines,[1] and Prince Albert, in correspondence with Bunsen, showed himself favourable to German criticism, and shortly before his death expressed a wish that the Prince of Wales should be placed under Stanley's influence. Stanley was, in fact, chosen to accompany the young Prince to the Holy Land in 1862.

The Bishops were much perplexed by this ferment, and by the appeal addressed to them by the adversaries of the *Essays*. They were less conscious of their authority than of their weakness and the divisions among them; yet such pressure was brought to bear upon them by the clergy, that in February, 1861, after a somewhat confused deliberation, they were constrained to respond to the addresses, in a joint reply drawn up by Wilberforce. Without naming the book, they expressed their sorrow

[1] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. i., p. 342.

that clergymen of the Church of England should upho views which had been condemned, and declared ther selves unable to comprehend how such opinions could l reconciled with a loyal subscription to the formularies the Church. They added that the question as to wheth the book justified synodal condemnation, or whether should be submitted to the ecclesiastical courts, was the most serious matter of consideration. This letter wa signed by twenty-eight prelates, including the Bishop London, A. C. Tait, who thus brought upon himself th reproaches of his friends, Stanley and Temple. Afte wards, in March and June, when the Bishops, urged b further petitions, again met to decide whether it woul be well to act, Tait openly negatived the proposal; but i spite of his opposition Wilberforce, supported by th Lower Chamber of Convocation, brought the uppe chamber to the decision that there was occasion fo synodal action.

For the time, however, this decision had no result. Th Bishops delayed because judicial proceedings were in pro gress against Williams and Wilson, two of the Essayists against the former, through the action of his diocesan the Bishop of Salisbury, and against the latter, on th initiative of an ordinary clergyman. Pusey was greatl troubled by these proceedings. The Gorham case ha not sufficed to make clear to him what the defenders o orthodoxy gained by submitting the decision of religiou causes to the lay courts. The Court of Arches, whic was first called upon, gave its decision in December, 186: It reduced the alleged grievances to the following points denial of the inspiration of Scripture and denial of eterna punishment, which grievances were pronounced "proved,

and Williams and Wilson suspended for a year. As was to be expected, they both immediately appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and here the decisive battle was fought out. It had also been desired to impeach the other essayists; but Baden Powell died, and Goodwin put himself out of reach by resigning his fellowship. Temple and Pattison, from the nature of their positions, could not be proceeded against. Pusey, acting conjointly with his old adversary, Golightly, accused Jowett, who alone remained, before the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for having supported teachings contrary to the doctrines of the Church; but the Vice-Chancellor judged his competence too doubtful to allow of his giving a decision.

VI

While the stir made by the *Essays* was at its height, it was still further aggravated by another publication of a similar nature. This time the scandal was even greater, for the author, Dr. Colenso, was a Missionary Bishop, appointed to the See of Natal in 1853. After having zealously evangelized the Zulus for some years, he had wished to translate the Bible for them, and thus he made the discovery of the difficulties which had been raised by German criticism. He was ill-prepared to face them, and, greatly troubled at not knowing how to distinguish between the false and the true in the assertions of this criticism, he set himself to compose, there among his negroes, far from all scientific help or advice, what turned out to be an ill-considered treatise on the Pentateuch. Not content with rectifying certain contestable theories of the traditional school, he entirely rejected the authority

and inspiration of the Pentateuchal books. This treati he brought to London, where he published it in tv volumes, the first at the end of 1862 and the second the beginning of 1863. He said in the preface that was unable to continue the use of the ordination servi because it affirmed the truth of the Bible, or that Baptism because in it allusion was made to tl Deluge. Arriving in the midst of an already heat controversy, the book caused intense excitement, a from the parsonages which had denounced the *Essa* a new outcry arose, still more urgently calling upon tl Bishops to use rigorous measures. Gray, Archbishop the Cape, hastened to London to demand his suffragar condemnation. Pusey, more alarmed than ever, tried move Tait by reminding him of all who might be driv to Rome by such scandals. Wilberforce, who was comi to the fore as leader of what may be called the episcop "right," urged his colleagues to satisfy the complaints prohibiting Colenso from officiating, at least in Englan But it was no easy task to get the Bishops to act in conce with regard to any measure, and Tait, though admitti the displeasure caused him by the rash and arroga speculations of the Bishop of Natal, sought to retard at least to modify the proposed decisions. In this way succeeded in reingratiating himself with Stanley, but w severely judged by the rest. The prelates, thus bewilder between two opposing influences, confined themselves addressing a collective letter in February, 1863, to Colens signed by forty-one of them, in which they gave him understand that his opinions were inconsistent with t duties of his office, and more or less explicitly asked h to resign. Colenso replied that he was by no mea

disposed to consider this suggestion. Some months later, when convocation met and repressive measures were again demanded, the former dispute was revived between Wilberforce who desired, and Tait who opposed, synodal action. Once again a compromise was agreed upon. The Upper Chamber, in declaring the work to contain errors of the gravest and most dangerous description, failed to take any steps, under the pretext that the book was soon to be submitted to the judgment of an ecclesiastical court.

Meanwhile Archbishop Gray, impatient at the indecision of his English colleagues, had returned to Africa and cited his suffragan, Colenso, to appear before him. It was doubtful whether he really had the jurisdiction he claimed. Nothing was more indefinite than the organization of the colonial episcopate, and it was scarcely to be expected that the Government would readily allow, even in Africa, a sort of ecclesiastical autonomy little in accordance with the general constitution of Anglicanism. But Gray was undaunted by such difficulties; zealous, ardent, and courageous, even a little imperious, his estimation of his own episcopal character and of hierarchical authority was more in conformity with the Church of Rome than with that of England. He was also very deeply aware of the evils against which his Church must be on guard, if she were not to admit herself unfaithful to her mission, and declared that if the Bishop of Natal were tolerated, the Church no longer had faith nor bore true witness to her Saviour. Colenso refused to recognize the jurisdiction of his Metropolitan, and remained in England. None the less the Archbishop of the Cape solemnly proceeded to pass judgment, and, assisted by two of his suffragans, he announced the deposition of

the Bishop of Natal in December, 1863, four mon being allowed him in which to retract. Dr. Gray add soon after, with a not ill-founded mistrust of the cou of justice, that he recognized no appeal from his senter save to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Some months later, as Colenso had not retracted, Gı went to Natal, published an energetic mandate, and took hand the government of the diocese, which he consider as vacant. Colenso, who was still in England, replied a long pamphlet, and appealed to the Queen in Coun thus provoking the intervention of the civil courts whi Gray distrusted, and against which he had protested advance. This matter, like that of the *Essays and Revie* thus ended in the Privy Council, once again showing the ineffaceable blemish of Anglicanism, the subordinati of the Church to the State.

VII

The Privy Council was in no hurry to make any re lution with regard to the appeal of Williams and Wils the two Essayists condemned by the Court of Arch The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Ta Bishop of London, were added as assessors to the fc lay judges to deal with this matter. The case w argued in June, 1863, though eight months passed befc judgment was given. The anxiety of this suspen weighed heavily upon the religious world. There we rumours that the decision would be favourable to t Essayists. Pusey, much troubled, interchanged condoler with Keble, and tried to influence Tait by writing h letters which became more and more urgent.

Finally, on February 8, 1864, before a public that did not conceal its anxiety, the Court, through the Lord Chancellor, gave its judgment that the formularies and Articles of the Church did not forbid the assertion that certain parts of the Bible had not been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, or forbid the hope that the punishment of sinners would not be eternal. For these reasons it acquitted Williams and Wilson, and ordered the costs to be paid by those who had denounced them. The Lord Chancellor made it known that the two Archbishops disagreed with the majority on the question of inspiration, but that Tait had voted on all points with the four lay judges.

The Broad Churchmen were triumphant. It seemed as though the spirit of religion, hitherto in chains, had been set free. All daring, all temerity, would henceforth be tolerated and even encouraged. Stanley, who had just been nominated Dean of Westminster by favour of the Queen—an important and lucrative post, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction—could not restrain his joy: The Church of England was, he trusted, free from "those terrible nightmares," Verbal Inspiration, Imputed Righteousness, and Eternity of Torment.[1] And he owed this liberation to the supremacy of the State. Was it not the justification of one of his most cherished ideas?

Meanwhile, in the opposite camp, which included the great mass of the clergy, there reigned consternation, anger, and fear. Pusey spoke of the "miserable soul-destroying judgment," and, according to the religious journals, never had the Church run so great a danger. High Church and Low Church continued to act in full

[1] *Life of Stanley*, vol. ii., p. 44.

accord. Pusey proclaimed this unity, and exchang cordial letters with Lord Shaftesbury, while his letters appeal to the clergy were published in the Evangelic organ, the *Record*, where they were described as "a mirable."[1] With the concurrence of the Low Churchme Pusey drew up a declaration which the clergy as a bo were invited to sign, and which affirmed the faith of t Church in the inspiration of the Bible and in eterr punishment. Whilst the signatures were being collecte the conflict continued with increasing ardour. T orthodox had especially taken umbrage at Tait, whc they accused of betraying the Church by voting with t four lay judges against the Archbishops. On the oth hand, the Broad Church party reproached the promote of the declaration for bringing undue pressure to be upon the inferior clergy in order to compel them to sig Pusey, although ill, published a vehement pamphlet which he proclaimed the Church to be in danger, a Keble publicly joined in the cry of alarm. Again, Pus entered into a bitter controversy in the *Times* wi Maurice. "We do not believe in the same God," wrote, and Maurice acquiesced.[2] Maurice had neith approved of the matter nor the form of the *Essays;* had even published, with his friends, tracts tending contradict them; but he disapproved still more of t rancorous dislike of the orthodox for the Essayists, a it seemed to him that the important matter was check the intolerance of what he described as "fal orthodoxy." Having prided himself on being oppos to Erastianism, he came to see, in the religious jur

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 49-52.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-63.

diction of the civil courts, a safeguard against theological tyranny.[1]

In the meantime Pusey's declaration made its way among the clergy until eleven thousand had signed it, which was about half the total number in the kingdom. It is true that the signatories belonged mostly to the inferior ranks of the clergy; deans, University professors, headmasters of public schools, were not frequent among them. Yet the number was no less a warning to the Bishops, than was another address of about the same time, signed by 137,000 of the laity. Wilberforce felt sufficiently encouraged by the general manifestation to renew, at the time of Convocation in April, 1864, his proposal of synodal action which had been admitted in principle three years previously, but adjourned in consequence of judicial proceedings. Tait in the Upper and Stanley in the Lower Chamber of Convocation, energetically opposed the measure. But the Bishops, in spite of their wonted lack of cohesion, dared not resist the weight of clerical opinion, and in June, 1864, by eight votes to two in the Upper Chamber, and thirty-nine to nineteen in the Lower, Convocation pronounced a synodal condemnation of writings, which it declared to contain teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the Church of England in common with the entire Catholic Church.

Although without practical effect, this decision none the less marked the ground that had been conquered by Convocation since the time, twelve years before, when Wilberforce had attempted to revive its powers. It caused something of a scare in the political world. In the House of Lords, Lord Houghton asked the Lord

[1] *Life of Maurice*, vol. ii., pp. 382, 487.

Chancellor whether Convocation had not exceeded its powers, and tried to show that the Bishops had incurred the penalties of *Præmunire*, which would involve, for example, payment by the Primate of the sum of £30,000 The Chancellor answered, in a tone scornful of the Bishops, that the synodal condemnation was illegal but unimportant, and compared its judgment to an eel that slips through the fingers and cannot be held. "To tell the truth," he concluded, "it is nothing." Wilberforce retorting with some fervour, was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and even by Tait.

Having found for the authors of the *Essays* against their ecclesiastical critics, it rested with the Privy Council to reinstate Colenso in opposition to his Metropolitan. A decision of March 20, 1865, annulled the deposition pronounced against the Bishop of Natal as having been an excess of prerogative. Colenso immediately returned in triumph to his diocese. Archbishop Gray, always unyielding, refused to recognize the judgment of the Privy Council, pronounced the greater excommunication against his refractory suffragan, and called upon the Bishops of England to uphold such action. The prelates were more perplexed than ever; even Wilberforce began to think Gray somewhat compromising. Debates upon the subject in Convocation were ineffectual; the Bishops sympathized with their colleague of the Cape without taking any of the active measures which he demanded. This state of things went on for some years, and was at intervals the subject of episcopal and parliamentary deliberation, without leading to anything decisive. The Anglican Church showed herself powerless to keep order or to regulate her own internal affairs. Gray, unable t

procure in England the consecration of the Bishop whom he wished to appoint as successor to Colenso, finished by himself consecrating him in Africa. But Colenso did not yield, and there resulted in Natal a condition of schism and anarchy which lasted even into recent years.[1]

Whatever might be thought of the *Essays* and of Colenso's book, the later decisions of the Privy Council plainly brought to light the evils of an organization which in conflicts of this kind gave to secular tribunals power to regulate the dogma and discipline of the Church. Archbishop Gray at the Cape summed up the situation with his usual vehemence by saying that either the Privy Council would destroy the Church or the Church the Privy Council.[2] Those in the opposite camp, rejoicing over the blow that had been given to dogmatic orthodoxy, were better disposed towards the civil courts. Stanley never wearied of the subject; and influential clergymen published in a volume, with a preface by Tait, a collection of Privy Council judgments on ecclesiastical matters as though they constituted a supplement to the creed and canons of the Church. The Government, also, showed no signs of allowing its supremacy to be lessened.

Everything conspired to make it clear that would-be reformers must expect to meet with powerful resistance. Yet, as has already been intimated, this was not the only or even the chief difficulty, which lay really with the very party that wished to bring about the reforms. Wilberforce, Pusey, and Keble exchanged letters in vain, consulted statesmen such as Gladstone, and lawyers such as

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., chaps. xiii. and xiv.; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., chaps. iv. and viii.; *Life of Archbishop Gray*, 2 vols.

[2] *Life of Archbishop Gray*, vol. ii., p. 164.

Coleridge. They had the questions inserted among th subjects for deliberation at the Church Congress or in Co vocation; but no more than at the time of the Gorha affair did they succeed in coming to any mutual agre ment, or even in fixing their individual ideas.[1] In artic published in 1864 and 1865 Church recognized how wel founded were the grievances of Churchmen against th jurisdiction of the civil courts, but he showed the defec and indeed the impossibility of each of the new syste proposed, and saw no other solution than that of renoun ing all theological legal proceedings, and all judgments o religious matters.[2] This is the singular conclusion of High Churchman; a significant avowal that there cou be no doctrinal authority in his Church. Years ha passed since then, and the problem has remained u solved; even to-day a satisfactory organization for th tribunal of appeal in religious matters still remains to b found.

This manifestation of the weaknesses of Anglicanis supplied an apt object-lesson to Catholics, for they we precisely weaknesses of a kind for which the Roma Church was able to offer an efficacious remedy. Mo than one clergyman was rendered uneasy by his knowledg of this. Wilberforce pointed out that the most faithf members of the Church had received a blow which migh drive a great number along the road to Rome.[3] Puse in private letters and in public writings, declared himse ever occupied in dealing with souls tempted by rece events to seek refuge in the Church of Rome, and apprise

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 49, 83, 94; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii pp. 102-112; *John Keble*, by Lock, pp. 179, 180.

[2] *Dean Church's Occasional Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 21, 32.

[3] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 110.

Tait of the fact that these events were being successfully made use of by Dr. Manning to entice them.[1]

Manning, indeed, was too much on the alert not to perceive what an advantage all that had happened would give to his cause. In 1864 he published, at an interval of several months, two letters to a friend,[2] in which, in taking account of the recent judgments of the Privy Council, he spoke strongly of the untenable position of Anglicanism, its powerlessness to extricate itself from heresy, and its subordination to the State. With a firm and implacable hand he laid bare the evil. During the thirteen years since he had left the English Church, he said, nothing had happened which gave reason to believe that that Church would or could release itself from the net of heresies in which it was involved.

"Somebody has likened [that net] to the shirt of Nessus. I will not do so; for my belief is that when the Church of England lost its inherence in the Universal Church, the principle of all spiritual and intellectual disease was developed in its blood, and ate into its bone. I do not believe that it is a poisoned vestment which is put upon it from without, but a morbid and manifold disease which is ever reproducing itself from within."

Further on he added, with regard to the judgment of the Privy Council in the matter of the *Essays*:

"The Anglican Church has, we may infer, two classes of doctrines: those which are true, and those which, though false, are legal; yet both equally admissible, and

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 337, 338.

[2] The first of these letters was entitled, *The Crown in Council and the Essays and Reviews*; the second, *Convocation and the Crown in Council*. Both were reprinted in a volume, published by Manning in 1867, under the title, *England and Christendom*.

both equally taught to those for whom Christ died, to the simple, the poor, the little ones fresh from Baptism."

And finally, after pointing out the vain efforts made by Convocation, he declared that the alternative was no longer between Anglo-Catholicism and Roman Catholicism but between rationalism and Rome.

The blow struck home, and response was difficult Pusey confined himself to complaining that certain Roman Catholics, instead of grieving at those things which weakened the English Church in its fight against infidelity, appeared to rejoice and triumph in that victory of Satan. The very expressions used by Pusey serve to show that he was deeply sensible of the harm that these incidents had done to his Church. It was this which had led him to throw himself with spirit into the heat of the conflict, and he had, at any rate, succeeded in putting an end to the suspicions of which, since the conversion of Newman and Manning, he had been the object. Henceforward he was accepted by all, even by his old antagonists the Evangelicals, as one of the most powerful champions of the Anglican faith. But if his work is to be appreciated not only in its immediate effect, but in its ultimate issue, there are certain reserves which the historian is bound to make. It is not surprising that Pusey should have seen in the publications of the Essayists, and in that of Colenso, a serious attack upon Christian truths, and it is easy to understand his feelings. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that, blinded by emotions, he appeared to combat and repulse not only the statements of those writers, but the whole of Biblical criticism, even discoveries which are recognized to-day as incontestable He would have shown more wisdom and thought if, while

condemning errors, he had not refused the new science its legitimate functions; but such distinctions are rarely made by religious conservatives in these matters. They do not, as a rule, arrive at them until events have taught them some mortifying lessons. In the early stages, when faced by novelties which disturb and trouble them, they seem to take note only of any evil which may be contained therein. This suffices to render all novelty suspect in their eyes, and they repulse it wholesale, and often somewhat blindly. But it is not only in Anglicanism that things happen thus, and Catholics have no right to be too severe upon Pusey and his friends.

CHAPTER V

MANNING, ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

I. Who was to be Wiseman's successor?—The list presented by the Chapter—Pius IX., on his own authority, appoints Manning II. The new Archbishop is received with deference in all quarters—His conciliatory attitude—His great administrative qualities—His zeal and activity—His solicitude for the poor—The multiplication of churches and schools. III. *The Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom*—Objections made to it by some Catholics—What Newman thought of it—It is condemned by the Holy Office—Address to the Cardinal-Secretary of the Holy Office, signed by 198 clergymen—The Association persists in its policy, though it now only includes Anglicans—*The Order of Corporate Reunion*. IV. How Pusey is led to write his *Eirenicon*, and the views he puts forward in it—He goes to France and presents his book to several Bishops V. Reception of the *Eirenicon* among Anglicans. VI. Some Catholics look upon it favourably; others, including Manning resist it—Newman's impression—His reply to Pusey, in which he makes a splendid defence of the *cultus* of the Holy Virgin—The death of Keble.

I

THE death of Cardinal Wiseman, on February 15, 1865, gave rise to the difficult question of choosing his successor. Circumstances seemed to threaten a renewal of the divisions which had, but a few years before, resulted in the removal of Archbishop Errington as coadjutor. There was danger lest the numerous partisans of the Archbishop should seize this opportunity of reviving his claims. Manning and his friends were much engrossed by this

momentous question, for they looked upon the choice of Wiseman's successor as "the greatest crisis which had befallen the Church in England since the restoration of the hierarchy."[1] In 1863, foreseeing the danger ahead they had, with the approval of Rome, urged Wiseman to name a new coadjutor; but the Cardinal's former experience inclined him to shrink from again hampering himself. In the weariness natural to old age, all he asked was to be allowed to end his days in peace, even at the risk of leaving, at his death, the solution of so difficult a problem to others.[2] His sole precaution was to address to the members of the Chapter from his death-bed this parting recommendation:[3] "I have one word to say, and it is to beg you to cherish peace and charity and unity, even though it may be at the price of our occasionally having to give up our own individual opinions for the sake of peace. And if in the past there has been anything that has made against charity and unity, in God's name let it pass into oblivion; let us put aside all jealousies, and let us forgive one another and love one another."[4]

The rule of the Chapter is to present the names of three candidates, technically called a *terna*, to the Pope, for the nomination of one of them to the vacant see. The Bishops draw up a report on the candidates, with any other observations they may think necessary for the information of the Holy See. The Pope makes the final nomination, without, however, being strictly limited to the three names presented by the Chapter. Before any list had been drawn up, Manning wrote to his confidant in

[1] Purcell's *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 205.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-189.
[3] Ward's *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 515.
[4] *Ibid.*

Rome, Mgr. Talbot, to guard him against the designs c the Canons, and to urge the Holy Father to reserve th appointment entirely to himself. The Chapter, assemble on March 14, 1865, proposed Dr. Errington, together wit Dr. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, and Dr. Grant, Bishop c Southwark. The proposal of the former coadjutor wa displeasing to Pius IX., who considered it as an *insulto a Papa*. Mgr. Talbot readily took advantage of the occasio to put forward Manning as a candidate, a project he ha long had at heart. At first there were many objections letters from England gave rise to fears that such a appointment would be ill-received. Cardinal Barnabc Prefect of the Propaganda, fearing dissensions and eve schism in the Church in England, clearly showed hi preference for Dr. Grant or Dr. Clifford, as he knew tha the choice of the former would be favourably receive by the Government, whilst that of the latter would pleas the Catholic aristocracy.[1] Mgr. Talbot, much perturbed hesitated to announce this bad news directly to the perso most concerned, and wrote to a common friend, Cano Morris. Manning regarded matters from too high a plan to need such precautions, and immediately addressed th following letter to Talbot, in which he revealed his high souled motives, and at the same time a certain degree o bitterness:

"My dear Mgr. Talbot,

"Canon Morris sent me your letter, and I thanl you sincerely for your kind thought about me and you fear of giving me pain. It gave me none. If I were t say that the subject of it has not been before my mind I should go beyond the truth, for in the last years, botl

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 205-213.

in England and abroad, people have, out of kind but inconsiderate talk, introduced the subject. But if I say that I have never for a moment believed the thing to be probable, reasonable, or imaginable, I should speak the strict truth. . . . God knows, I have never so much as breathed a wish to Him about it. And in all this time I have been as indifferent as if nothing were pending. I believe I may say that God knows I have lived for work, and not names or promotions. . . . The work, if any, that I have been able to do does not stand upon the favour, or name, or countenance of anyone under Our Lord and His Vicar, but upon its own feet; and nothing can affect it so long as we keep in the grace of God. I therefore have no fear of what Cardinal Barnabŏ may turn to. He may give me trouble, but nothing more. If the Holy Father wished our work dissolved, it would be gone before sunset. If he did not, nobody in the world, I believe, could undo it. For the future, therefore, I am without a moment's fear. If I had wished for my reward in this world, I should not have spoken out to the last syllable what I believe to be true. I have consciously offended Protestants, Anglicans, Gallican Catholics, national Catholics, and worldly Catholics, and the Government and public opinion in England, which is running down the Church and the Holy See in all ways and all day long. You are the man who can best know and say whether this was the way to my reward in this world. And in this I hope to go on to the end, and I know that nothing can take off the edge of the truth, and that, under God, is all that I have ever trusted to, long before I was a Catholic. Now your kindness has drawn all this from me. Be sure I look for nothing. And be sure, too, that as long as I have life and strength you will find me going straight on in the same road, in which I have always felt you have gone yourself without fear. That is more than enough about myself. We are, indeed, in a crisis. But I care less who the next Archbishop may be than to see six or eight incompetent men, who have crossed the Cardinal's great work, caressed and encouraged. This I think unworthy, and a stain on the Cardinal's memory. I have reason to know that the Memorial party is as busy as

ever, and encouraged by the silence here, and, I must *add* by the *timidity* of Propaganda."[1]

Had the choice been left to Propaganda, Manning would have probably been disappointed. But Pius IX. knew Manning, whom Wiseman had often sent to Rome on business, and had been much attracted by his personality and approved of his views. His goodwill was further increased by the accounts which he daily heard from his domestic prelate, Mgr. Talbot. He therefore decided to take the matter into his own hands, and ordered a month of prayers and Masses for this intention. He then felt inspired from on high to exercise his own personal authority in substituting for the candidates of the Chapter the man who seemed to him most fitted for the post. He himself afterwards said to Manning: "I was really inspired to name you; I felt as if a voice were always saying to me, 'Place him there, place him there.'"[2]

Thus it was that on April 30, 1865, the personal will of Pius IX., setting aside the proposed candidates, all Bishops, and Catholics by birth, raised as head of the Church in England a convert who had not yet received the Episcopal dignity, and the former Anglican Archdeacon of Chichester became, at fifty-seven years of age, Catholic Archbishop of Westminster.

II

Even those who had desired Manning's nomination were not without a certain anxiety as to how it would be received in England. To the credit of all, and especially of those who had been accused of too much independence

[1] Letter of March 31, 1865 (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 209, 210).
[2] Purcell's *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 217, 218.

with regard to Rome, it at once became evident that these fears were groundless. All, with one accord—Bishops, priests, and laity—bowed to the Pope's decision with deference and alacrity, and hastened to assure the new Archbishop of their loyalty. He, in his letters to Mgr. Talbot, describes with emotion this welcome, which "exceeded all his hopes," and of which he declares "that the past is really effaced. I trust, therefore," he adds, "that the alarmists will cease to fear."[1] Archbishop Errington withdrew into retirement, which only ended with his death in 1886. He never gave vent to the least recrimination, nor publicly attempted to vindicate himself or tell his own story.

Manning's attitude helped to bring about this peaceful state of things. Ardent, energetic, sometimes even fierce in the heat of struggle, he was modest, conciliating, gentle in victory, and showed no sign of the *Væ victis*. This was not mere skilful diplomacy: it was the effect of his pastoral solicitude for the souls under his charge, and of his sense of responsibility to God and to His Church. His first act on hearing of his appointment, on the morning of May 8, was to go and kneel before the Blessed Sacrament. The conditions under which his nomination took place, "not only without human influences, but in spite of manifold and powerful human opposition," and the intervention of the Holy Father—"the most supernatural person he had ever seen"—seemed to him a direct manifestation of the Holy Spirit. "It is," he said, "as if I had heard Our Lord call me." It made him "forget his own unworthiness," and approach his work "with awe, but not fear."

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 222, 225, 228, 232.

Such a state of mind excluded any personal resentmer The Archbishop realized that his mission could only l accomplished in the spirit of charity and concord. "If know myself," he wrote to Mgr. Talbot, "I have no wis but to end my life in work for the Church and for soul and in charity and peace with all."

From the outset his actions accorded well with h resolve. He replied to the advances of one of his form opponents in the Chapter by appointing him his Vica General. He received consecration from the hands Archbishop Ullathorne. The two Bishops who assiste at the consecration were Dr. Grant of Southwark ar Dr. Clifford of Clifton, the candidates presented by th Chapter. The dignified grace of his manner, his tact ar courtesy, impressed and won over the most prejudice of his opponents. Mgr. Talbot was surprised by th change, and wrote thus from Rome: "One thing is mo wonderful—the change of the opinion of Catholics i your favour. Your greatest enemies have entirely com round. I received the other day a panegyric of you fro Searle. This change of feeling I cannot attribute to an thing but the Holy Ghost."[1]

On the day of his consecration, under the weight of th emotions through which he had passed, Manning appeare so emaciated that he heard a poor old Irish woman say a he passed round the church at Moorfields, "What a pit to take all this trouble for three weeks!" He was pr vailed upon to go abroad for a month's rest. But s eager was he to set to work that as soon as he recovere his strength he returned to London to take up the gover ment of his diocese, and at once proved himself the rigl

[1] Letter of July 10, 1865 (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 257).

man in the right place. I have already remarked that as a writer, an orator, or a thinker, he was surpassed by others, and notably by Newman, but as a ruler he holds the first rank. This could be surmised in Cardinal Wiseman's lieutenant. In his new position he was to find full scope for his great abilities. Endowed with prodigious activity, tenacity of purpose, and undaunted courage, pliable and full of resource and tact, as skilful and patient in steering through difficulties as energetic in surmounting them, he knew well how to manage, conciliate, and subdue men. He was in his element in applying these statesmanlike gifts to religious matters. Like most great men of action, he was at times imperious and even despotic. He assumed sole responsibility in the direction of affairs, and expected all others only his subordinates to be willing instruments. In this light he regarded all his fellow-workers, and particularly his Vicars-General, and it was for this reason, as he explained to his friend Talbot, he had no hesitation in naming to this post one of his former opponents in the Chapter. "So long as I have health and strength," he said, "it matters little who is Vicar-General."[1] He would allow no one to stand in relation to himself as he had formerly stood to Cardinal Wiseman. All important laymen he treated with the same aloofness, nor suffered them to take the initiative in public questions concerning religious matters. If they gave him money and a subordinate assistance he was satisfied, though this did not prevent his rather inconsistently reproaching them with inertia and indifference. He had a singular aptitude for administrative work, and delighted in any communications and official relations

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 232.

with politicians whenever occasion required it. He undertook this kind of work with remarkable success. He was keenly alive to the influence of the Press upon public opinion, nor rested till he controlled all the Catholic reviews and newspapers. This jealousy of his own authority inspired him with a certain distrust of the religious Orders, surprising at first sight in one so ultramontane. He considered them too independent of the Bishop's authority. Nothing made him so impatient as to hear it affirmed that the religious state was superior to that of the secular priest. He was especially severe towards the Society of Jesus, and during the whole of his Episcopate obstinately refused them permission to found any educational establishment in his diocese.

But it is only fair to add that if Manning was jealous of his own authority, it was from no selfish motive. He wished to be master, but he wished it for the sake of religion. This was the only principle which governed him. In the cause of religion his devotedness was unsparing, his activity prodigious. Every hour of his day he employed in the service of his diocese or of the Church. He held in his own hand all the machinery of Church government; and he alone was its moving and guiding spirit. Ever ready to take the initiative, he would, nevertheless, have his say in all controversies touching Catholic interests. An indefatigable preacher, he delivered sermons every Sunday, preferably in churches frequented by the poor and working classes.

Love of the poor was one of his ruling passions. He had a special liking for the Irish poor, thrown into the midst of the irreligious and Protestant multitudes of the great city; as a Bishop, he was responsible for their souls;

as an Englishman, he felt the pressure of a long-neglected duty. Every morning as he read his *Times*, he glanced anxiously at the reports of the police-courts, and if he found there an Irish name, as was unhappily too often the case, his face betrayed his sorrow. He had ascertained that out of the Catholics scattered among the populous districts of London, more than 20,000 had neither a church in which to worship nor a school in which to procure a religious education for their children. Accordingly, when some generous subscribers brought him £16,000 for the much-needed Cathedral, at the risk of giving umbrage, he refused to enter into their views, declaring that the first and most urgent needs of his diocese were chapels and schools for the poorer districts. "Not a stone of the Cathedral shall be laid," he said, "until souls find shelter in the Spiritual Church, for such is the true Cathedral of Westminster." He persevered till death in this resolution, in spite of repeated remonstrances.[1] His first aim was that every Catholic, no matter how poor, should have within his reach a church and the assistance of a priest, even if this should necessitate poorer buildings and slenderly endowed missions. London, which in 1850 had only 38 churches, now possesses, for 200,000 Catholics, 116 parishes or missions. His zeal was equally active in providing schools for poor Catholic children. "Every Catholic child," said Manning, "has a right to Catholic instruction and education." In 1866 he succeeded in establishing the Westminster Diocesan Education Fund, the result of which was to raise the number of children

[1] The building of the Cathedral, thus adjourned, was taken up by Manning's successor. It was built on land which Manning had had the foresight to purchase in the centre of the Westminster district.

who received a Catholic education from 11,245 to 22,580.

At the same time the Archbishop kept steadily in mind that, if missions multiplied, the number of priests to serve them must be proportionately increased. In his diocese these steadily rose from 210 to 350. But a mere increase in numbers was not sufficient; he was equally solicitous for their training. His recollections of the clerical colleagues of his Anglican days, who were often men of high birth and graduates of the Universities, brought home to him most keenly the social and intellectual deficiencies of the Catholic clergy. "Good, zealous, faithful, unworldly as they were," their training had not lifted them above the old level. Hence, he thought, came their lack of influence on English society in general. To the very end he never relaxed in his efforts to improve ecclesiastical education, always, however, placing first the spiritual training of the priest, and keeping before him that ideal of high sanctity which he afterwards developed in one of his most famous books, *Of the Eternal Priesthood*. His own great exterior activity rested on an inner life; his gaze was ever fixed upon supernatural things. Man of government as he was, he was also a man of prayer. He loved to make frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament. His experience in the ways of the spiritual life, both for himself and for others, caused him to be much sought after as a confessor; he was as skilful and intent in consoling a troubled soul as in pursuing the great designs of his ecclesiastical policy.

III

From the very outset the new Archbishop had to decide on the line of conduct to be adopted towards those

Anglicans with tendencies to Catholicism who styled themselves "Anglo-Catholics." The facts which led to his final intervention occurred before he became Archbishop; and to understand the question we must recur to that period.

Through the influence of the Oxford Movement, Catholic ideas and practices gradually permeated the life of Anglicans, who felt more and more strongly the weakness and inconsistency of their separation from Rome. Whilst some were thus led to abjure schism and submit to the true Church, others persuaded themselves that unity might be regained in a more effectual way than by individual secessions. Their dream was a reconciliation, a *reunion* of the Churches which had been unhappily separated in the sixteenth century—a treaty of peace, so to speak, between two religious societies. The idea was not a new one, and had, in preceding centuries, formed the basis of more or less authorized negotiations. It was taken up again in 1856 by some enterprising spirits of the vanguard of the Ritualists, the most active of whom was Dr. Lee, a country clergyman and a graduate of Oxford. The *Union* newspaper, a publication which openly advocated the necessity of agreement with the Holy See and the Universal Church, gave a more definite shape to these aspirations for unity. To some Catholics even, these facts seemed hopeful. The return of the Anglican Church, as a body, to Catholic Unity—the *corporate Union*, as it was called—seemed neither improbable as a matter of fact, nor impossible as a matter of ecclesiastical regulation, and they had not forgotten that Wiseman, in 1841, had, in a public letter to Lord Shrewsbury, contemplated it as an actual contingency.

The most confident of Catholics so disposed was Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. His social position and the services he had rendered to the Church made him remarkable among his co-religionists. Belonging to an old family of Huguenot origin, while everything seemed to keep him at a distance from the Roman Church, he had, in 1825, at fifteen years of age, become a Catholic, long before any of the great converts of the Tractarian School. He then devoted himself with generous ardour to spreading his new faith, at a time when practically nothing of this kind was attempted. He built numerous churches in the neighbourhood of his estates, procured priests for them, and even founded a monastery of Trappists. When, later on, the Oxford Movement had produced a Catholic revival in the heart of Anglicanism, he had followed its development with keen sympathy, hailing it as the forerunner of a universal return to Catholic Unity. He was almost the only one among Catholics who sought, in spite of rebuffs, to enter into communication with the heads of the Movement. The striking conversions of 1845 and 1850 appeared to justify his hopes. Naturally of an enthusiastic temperament, he too readily believed that the fulfilment of his desires was at hand, and was impatient of long delays. His deep faith inclined him to rely upon miraculous interventions, and occasionally rendered him liable to the delusions of a visionary. He considered himself "the child of a miracle," and attributed his own conversion to a revelation received in a dream. It was, therefore, not unlikely that he should give credence to pretended prophecies, and implicitly believed in one which had been uttered a hundred and fifty years ago by a pious Catholic gardener, who announced the return of

England to Catholicism at a date De Lisle now believed to be near.[1]

With such a past history, and with such a turn of mind, it is not surprising that Phillipps de Lisle should see in the action of the promoters of the *Union* newspaper the long-looked-for sign announcing the great event which he so ardently desired. He fancied that the whole Anglican Church was in movement behind this little vanguard of independents. He published a treatise on *The Future Unity of Christendom*, and wrote in May, 1857, a long letter to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, in which he informed him that a great party had been formed among the Anglicans, with the object of reuniting themselves to the Catholic Church and submitting to the Pope. He even asserted that this party already included two thousand priests and ten Bishops, among whom he was so deluded as to place Samuel Wilberforce who was strongly biassed against Rome. When the Cardinal wrote him a short letter, expressing satisfaction at the news, Phillipps de Lisle interpreted it as an encouragement from Rome to associate himself with the movement. He therefore communicated with the promoters of the Reunion, and on July 4, 1857, they held a meeting, the resolutions of which he sent to the Cardinal. The first was the vote of a golden chalice, to be presented to His Eminence as a token of "gratitude" and as "a pledge of the hoped-for Reunion between the English and Roman Churches"; the second was the foundation of an Association of Prayer, for which the Pope was asked to grant an indulgence, which should be, if possible, extended even

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, by Purcell, edited and completed by Edwin de Lisle, vol. i., *passim*.

to Anglicans "who were not in external communion with the Holy See." The articles of the Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom, or, as it was called, the A.P.U.C., were, in fact, drawn up by the Rev. F. G. Lee and by Phillipps de Lisle on September 8 of the same year; they were written in English, French, and Latin, and were to be distributed in all countries.[1]

The enthusiastic confidence of Phillipps de Lisle was far from being shared by all his co-religionists. The old Catholics by birth, who already looked askance at the influx of individual converts, were naturally alarmed at the prospect of a collective invasion of newcomers, and at the establishment in England of a kind of "United Church," by the side of which they would appear but an insignificant minority. But there were objections of a higher order. In the first place, it was noticed that Anglican partisans of the Reunion advocated the so-called "Branch Church" theory: they considered the three Churches, Anglican, Greek, and Roman, as three branches, which had been unhappily separated from the Universal Church; therefore, to reunite them, it was only necessary for the three powers to come to terms. This theory, of course, involved a denial of the Catholic dogma, which taught that there was only one true Church, to which the separated Churches were bound to submit. Had those Catholics who took part in the Association more or less forsaken the true point of view? Phillipps de Lisle disclaimed for himself any such idea, but objections were brought against certain expressions in his pamphlet and in his preface to the Rules of the Association. In the second place, it was objected that in advocating

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. i., pp. 372-380.

"Corporate Reunion" Catholics neglected and discouraged individual conversions, which were, after all, the only possible and true conversions; they were even formally accused of suggesting to Anglicans who had lost faith in their own Church that they might conscientiously remain in it, in order thus to further more effectually the general exodus. Phillipps de Lisle, in fact, did not attempt to disguise his conviction that individual conversions appeared to him of very little importance compared with the return of the whole Anglican body. He felt little inclination to hook one or two little fishes when there was a chance of landing a great netful. But though he judged it more prudent and more effectual not to expedite these single conversions, he denied having ever prevented anyone from obeying his conscience when it had urged him to join the Church of Rome. Neither was he willing to admit that the "Corporate Reunion" had, in fact, diminished the number of conversions; indeed, he urged as a proof of the contrary that certain *Unionists* had recently made their abjuration in his own private chapel. Finally, a third and more plausible criticism was that the hopes entertained by Phillipps de Lisle were absolutely chimerical, that the number of the *Unionists* was, in reality, very small, without any influence on their Church at large, and that this crowd of Bishops and clergymen who, according to him, were so eager to unite themselves to the Holy See existed only in his imagination.[1]

However well founded these criticisms may have been, it was nevertheless undeniable that the Reunion Move-

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. i., pp. 373, 374, 381-385, 398; *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 480-486.

ment was praiseworthy in its motive, and tended to advance Catholic ideas. Common sense and prudence alike counselled moderation in dealing with its promoters and although it was necessary to be firm in upholding indispensable principles, the Movement ought not to be too rudely repelled. This was overlooked by some uncompromising persons—amongst others, W. G. Ward, who scornfully deemed it more important to open the eyes of those Anglicans pluming themselves on their Catholicism to their own inconsistencies than to encourage their undeniable goodwill. Manning, who already possessed considerable influence, though he had not at that time received the Episcopate, openly declared that the conquest and submission of one single soul was worth more than all that the clergymen intended to negotiate. The doctrinal errors and the delusions as to actual facts concerning the supporters of Corporate Reunion were denounced to Rome. The effect of these reports soon made itself felt in the changed tone of a second letter from Cardinal Barnabo to Phillipps de Lisle, in which he declined to accept the chalice which was offered to him in the name of the Association. "To do so," he said, "would seem to imply that the Sacred Congregation of which he was President assented to, or connived at, a false doctrine." Cardinal Wiseman, who had at first shown some sympathy with the *Unionists*, and had had several interviews with the Rev. F. G. Lee, now under Manning's influence, considerably modified his attitude. Fearing lest he should be compromised by the pertinacity with which the promoters of the Movement claimed his *Letter to Lord Shrewsbury* of 1841 as a sanction of their views, he addressed a long memorandum to the Holy See, in which

he criticized the conduct of Phillipps de Lisle and his friends.[1]

Newman, who at that time (1857) was still Rector of the Catholic University of Dublin, had no great confidence in the enterprise, in which he saw more generosity than foresight. When consulted by Phillipps de Lisle, he warned him against entertaining too sanguine expectations, as it seemed to him that the conversion of the Anglican Church, as a body, was not possible. He could not understand how those whose conscience urged them to become Catholics could make terms as to their submission, and "bargain" with the Holy See. Finally, he distrusted everything which might appear to encourage Anglicans to defer their individual conversion. "There is such an extreme difficulty," he wrote to Phillipps de Lisle, "in rousing the mind to the real *necessity* of leaving the position into which men have grown up—their profession, perhaps, their neighbourhood, or their family, or their work—that they will easily avail themselves of any, even the slightest, excuse; and even a hint from a person so deeply respected as yourself, so beloved, yourself too a convert, is more than sufficient to turn the scale, when the mind is in suspense. And then suppose, if these very dear and precious souls, say Dr. Pusey, are taken away in this state, when grace has been offered them and they have not followed it up." He did not, indeed, deny that "the interest of Catholicism was that individuals should not join us, but remain to leaven the mass," yet he asked himself if it were always kept in mind that each one of these individuals had his own soul to save. In all this it is evident that he regards the Movement from the same point of view as Manning.

[1] *Life and Letters of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 479-488.

He differs from him in giving Phillipps de Lisle credit for his good intentions, and recognizing the happy results which might be obtained by his tender and respectful charity towards the Anglicans. He feared that at Rome their overtures might be too rudely repulsed; he dreaded the "tone" habitual to the prelates of the Propaganda, "their ignorance of the English character," their "want of tact," which "exposes them to give great offence as soon as ever they emerge out of the vague terms of courtesy and kindness which Christian charity will elicit from them at the outset."

Rome certainly did not favour the enterprise. She remained silent, however, paying no attention to the pressing solicitations of some among the more ardent, who wished Phillipps de Lisle's treatise to be placed upon the Index. Therefore, for several years the A.P.U.C. continued to gain adherents in both communions. Indeed, according to its promoters, their numbers soon reached several thousands, and even included some Catholic Bishops. Phillipps de Lisle, led away by his unbounded enthusiasm, informed Cardinal Wiseman of this "marvellous progress." The most notable of these new recruits was Father Lockhart, a Rosminian monk, who had preceded Newman in his submission to Rome.

If they had been content with the League of Prayer, it is probable that the situation would have remained as it was, and that no decisive steps would have been taken by the religious authorities. But the Association published the *Union Review*, which occasionally inserted articles containing questionable doctrines. Moreover, the most objectionable among them were not always the work of Anglicans, but of some Catholic priests who were more or

less openly in revolt against their Bishops, and showed that what they aimed at in the foundation of a United Church was a means of emancipation from a discipline they considered galling, and particularly from the obligation of celibacy. They thus afforded full scope for just criticism. The Bishops were at last roused, and, together with Wiseman, memorialized the Propaganda in 1864 on the participation of Catholics in the A.P.U.C. This was just at the time when the Holy See, vigilant against anything which savoured of religious liberalism, was preparing to publish the Syllabus and the Encyclical *Quantâ curâ*. The conditions were therefore favourable to the Bishops' petition, and on September 16 a Rescript of the Holy Inquisition, addressed to the Bishops of England, condemned in severe terms the membership of Catholics in the Association, as an action both "causing scandal" and "tainted with heresy," tending to undermine the constitution of the Church and to encourage indifferentism.

This was a severe blow to the Catholics who had rather imprudently engaged in the enterprise, though with the one sincere aim of serving the Church and saving souls. They now saw themselves rudely disavowed before the eyes of those whom they had tried to lead to Catholicism, faced with the alternative of bewildering and deserting them, if they submitted, or of scandalizing their own brethren by resistance to authority. In any case, it now seemed to them as if only those thoroughgoing Protestants who were opposed to any kind of reconciliation had cause to rejoice. There was, however, no hesitation; Phillipps de Lisle and Father Lockhart withdrew from the Association. "What we meant," wrote the latter, "was misunderstood by those among us in

authority. To their decision I was, however, bound to bow."

A singular phenomenon then occurred, which proved that, even if delusions and inconsistencies existed among the Anglican Reunionists, their intentions were sincere, and that they were animated with sentiments of respect towards the Holy See, unheard-of till then among their co-religionists. Far from retorting in the same tone to the severe and scornful rejection of the Holy Office, the chief members, to the number of 198, all clergymen, drew up and signed an address to the Cardinal-Secretary of the Holy Office, in which they sorrowfully and respectfully protested that their intentions had been misinterpreted. To the reproach that they had affirmed, in their prospectus, "that the three Communions, Roman, Greek, and Anglican, have an equal claim to call themselves Catholic," they answered that they had never intended to express any opinion on this point, and had only stated an existing *fact*, not a *right*. They protested that they had no other end in view than the restoration of the Unity which had been destroyed, and wished to use no means but prayer to bring this about. As to the individual opinions set forth in the *Union Review*, they refused to take the responsibility of them upon themselves, and explained that such free discussions, though foreign to Rome, had always been current in England. They recalled their efforts of many years to stimulate beliefs and revive worship and clerical discipline; and especially congratulated themselves on having cultivated, even at the risk of causing others to mistrust them, a feeling of goodwill towards the venerable Church of Rome. They concluded by "humbly professing themselves the servants of

His Eminence, and devoted to Catholic Unity."[1] Phillipps de Lisle, who considered such language a justification of his own conduct, constantly petitioned Cardinal Wiseman to take these explanations into account, and to persuade the Holy See to make a fresh investigation of the matter. Wiseman, who had always been sympathetic with the Association, was touched, and seemed at first disposed to present in person to the Holy Office the memorial of the 198 clergy, when Manning interfered and prevented him from so doing. Wiseman's days were, moreover, numbered, and he died on February 15, 1865, without having taken any further steps in the matter.[2]

The nomination of Manning to the See of Westminster did not improve the position of the petitioners. In default of Wiseman, they begged Mgr. Talbot to present their address. He consented, but at the same time sought Manning's advice as to what kind of letter the Holy Office ought to write in reply. As to this, Manning's opinions were decided. He would not agree that "the 198" had been misunderstood; he was less concerned about wounding the feelings of men of faith and goodwill, who were trying to come to an understanding, than he was that dogmatic truth should be clearly affirmed and delusions and ambiguity dispelled. He thought that a clear, firm letter from the Pope would be the surest way, not only "to open the eyes of the *Unionists*," but to influence public opinion in England. He added that the A.P.U.C. "is part of a system which is deceiving many Catholics, and will give us much trouble if we do not cut down to the

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 279, 280.

[2] *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 489-491; *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 276, 277; *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. i., pp. 400, 401.

bone." These views were communicated by Talbot to Pius IX., who approved of them, and directed that the answer to the A.P.U.C. should be drawn up accordingly.[1]

The new Rescript of the Holy Office, dated November 8, 1865, is slightly less "sharp" than the former—the two first drafts were rejected by the Pope, as not being sufficiently "paternal" in their tone—but its ideas and conclusions are in *substance* those of the first. The Holy Office avoided giving to those to whom it was speaking their ecclesiastical titles, lest it might be interpreted as a recognition of Anglican Orders; they were addressed simply as "*Honorabiles et dilectissimi Domini.*" The letter insists that neither *de jure* nor *de facto* can the name of Catholic, without manifest heresy, be given to any other body than the Church in communion with Rome, that she alone is the true Church, and that whoever is separated from the one and only Catholic Church should, under pain of losing eternal life, hasten to enter it.[2]

Would it have been possible to uphold necessary principles, and yet not repulse men actuated by such good intentions? Newman appeared to think so. He could not but feel sorry, he wrote on November 24, 1865, to a Jesuit friend of his, Father Coleridge, at the blow struck by the Holy Office at the members of the A.P.U.C. It was not that he believed, more than in 1857, in the fulfilment of the cherished dream of his friend Phillipps de Lisle. In a letter written to the latter on March 3, 1866, he explained at length how, considering the origin, the actual position, and the principles of the

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. i., pp. 403-408; *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 278-284.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 417-422.

Established Church, its return as a body to Catholic Unity would seem to him a miracle as great as if the Thames were to change its course. Moreover, this does not seem to him a legitimate subject of prayer. "Doubtless nothing is impossible to God, and the more we ask of Him, the more we gain; but still, His indications and Providence are often our guide, what to ask and what not to ask. We ask what is probable: we do not ask definitely that England should be converted in a day (unless under the authority of a particular inspiration). Such a prayer would be presumptuous, as being a prayer for a miracle." About the same time he wrote to Pusey with regard to "union in prayer" between Catholics and Anglicans: "not that it is positively unlawful, but any application to Rome is answered in the negative." His personal opinion is, apparently, that it would be more "straightforward" and "honest" not to expose oneself to the difficulties and ambiguities which might be occasioned by this union. "What is prayer," he adds, "but Communion? To pray together is to be in the same Communion."[1] Newman seems to regret more the manner of the Act of the Holy Office than the substance of its ideas; he fears lest men of goodwill should be discouraged. He apprehends the consequences if the Anglicans were led to suppose that "the majority of Catholics were with Ward and Faber." As to himself, "convinced, as he is, that a large body in the Anglican Church are growing towards us . . . he does not think it right to do anything likely to throw back this large body."

Manning, on the other hand, seemed inclined to find fault with the Roman authorities for not having been

[1] Letter of April 2, 1866 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 138).

sufficiently dogmatic. "I had hoped for more," he wrote to Talbot, who answered apologetically: "It is difficult, almost impossible, to make Italians understand the Anglican mind and view of things."[1] The Archbishop lost no time in publishing, on December 14, 1865, the Letter of the Holy Office, and soon after commented upon it in a Pastoral, entitled *The Reunion of Christendom*. This is a document of considerable length, lofty and even inspired in tone, full of eloquent passages, vibrating with restrained emotion and sympathy, which sometimes contrast strangely with its evident rigorism of doctrine. The principal aim of the author is to dispel all delusions and ambiguities. He consented, on the advice of some of his friends, to strike out some passages which seemed too severe, but he was careful not to alter its substance. "I hope it is strong," he wrote to Talbot, "but I do not wish it to be hard."[2]

He began by recalling recent events and the Acts of the Holy Office. He did not deny that it was a new and singular fact in our history that nearly two hundred clergymen should present an address to the Cardinal-Secretary of the Holy Office; he saw in this "an impulse of supernatural grace." "It is a wonderful reaction, a movement against the wind and tide of English tradition and of English prejudice"; it has "carried the minds of men onward, nearer and nearer to the frontiers of the Catholic Faith." But he hastens to add that it would be an error "to attach too much importance to the movement of which the A.P.U.C. is the advanced column." He recalls the fact that the "Church of England represents only half the English people; the Anglican school is only a

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 284.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 285.

portion of the Church of England; the Anglo-Catholic Movement represents only a section of the Anglican school, and the *Unionist* Movement only a fraction of that section." He takes occasion from this to speak of the Nonconformists, upon whose good qualities he insists, as if to show the Anglicans that they are not the only ones to deserve the interest and share the solicitude of Catholics. "If they are rougher in their language against the Catholic Church," he says, "they are more generous and candid adversaries, more vehement, but less bitter, and altogether free from the littleness of personality and petty faults which sometimes stain the controversy of those who are intellectually nearer to the truth. For such men it is our duty to cherish a warm charity and a true respect, and not disproportionately to waste upon those who stand nearer to us the time and the sympathy which is their due." The Archbishop afterwards explains why he is not more favourable to schemes of Reunion.[1] "It may seem a strange and invidious thing for us, who witness for the unity of the Church throughout the world, to be tardy in going forth to meet those who approach us with invitations to union." He declares that he has always ardently desired the restoration of unity, and continues:

"The vision of England Catholic once more, its true and energetic people once more elevated by faith to the higher instincts of the Catholic Church; our domestic schisms healed, our bitter controversies ended, and all our powers turned from mutual conflict, upon the subjugation of sin and unbelief, which day and night devour souls on every side—all this is as beautiful and fascinating

[1] *The Reunion of Christendom: A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy*, by Archbishop Manning, 1866.

as the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem which the Apostle saw coming down from Heaven. There is only one thing more beautiful and more commanding, and that is the Heavenly Jerusalem itself, not in imagery, but in reality; the Holy Church throughout the world in all the perfect symmetry of unity and truth, indefectible and infallible, incorruptible and changeless, the mother of us all, the kingdom of God on earth. We are ready to purchase the reunion of our separated brethren at any cost less than the sacrifice of a jot or a tittle of the supernatural order of unity and faith. . . . We can offer unity only on the condition on which we hold it—unconditional submission to the living and perpetual voice of the Church of God. If this is refused, it is not we who hinder unity. For it is not we who impose this condition, but the Spirit of Truth who abides in the Church for ever. It would be contrary to Charity to put a straw across the path of those who profess to desire union. But there is something more divine than Union—that is, the Faith. It was to declare this law of His kingdom that our Divine Lord said: 'Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth; I came not to send peace, but the sword': a Divine saying, most necessary in these days when precision of doctrine is denounced as uncharitable and dogma as the bar to union. It is this which the Holy Office has detected, with the true instinct of Rome, in the Association before us. The Church is definite, precise, and peremptory in its declarations of doctrine. It refuses all compromise, transaction, or confusion of the terms and limits of its definitions. It is intolerant not only of contradiction, but of deviation. It excludes every formula but its own. . . . No wonder we are thought to be narrow, sectarian, and uncharitable. Nothing but a Divine law could justify such a course. But such a law there is, which more than justifies. It binds the conscience of every member of the Church, from the Sovereign Pontiff to the little child in a Catholic school, to the Divine unity of truth. . . . And once more, as the Holy Office affirms, there is no unity possible except by the way of truth. Truth first, unity afterwards; truth the cause, unity the effect. To invert this order is to overthrow the Divine

procedure. The unity of Babel ended in confusion; the union of Pentecost fused all nations in one body by the one dogma of Faith. . . ."

After so formal a condemnation, Catholics could no longer take part in the A.P.U.C. But the Association still lived on, now composed of Anglicans only, not, indeed making much stir, but still occasionally showing signs of life and activity. It was thus that, some years later, in 1877, under the influence of Dr. Lee, its founder, a sort of secret society, called the Order of Corporate Reunion, or O.C.R., originated. Without exaggerating its importance or activity, we may remark that it is at least a curious symptom of the strange state of mind existing on the extreme frontiers of Anglicanism. Dr. Lee acknowledged that there could be no security as to the validity of the sacraments conferred by the Church of England, particularly with regard to the ordination of priests, and that this uncertainty was an obstacle to the accomplishment of Corporate Union. The new society proposed to remove this obstacle. For this purpose, in 1878, three of its members secretly got themselves rebaptized, reconfirmed, reordained, and finally consecrated to the Episcopate by Bishops who were schismatic, but possessed the Apostolic Succession. It is related that this ceremony took place at sea, in order to escape all difficulties as to jurisdiction. The new Bishops intended to make use of the powers thus obtained to secure the validity of the sacraments administered by their associates. Who were these three Bishops? The secret of their names was only revealed under the seal of Confession. It appears that one of them was Dr. Lee, another Dr. Mossman; the identity of the third is more uncertain. The curious thing about it all is

that these Bishops continued their ecclesiastical functions in the Established Church. Lee, for instance, remained Vicar of the Parish of All Saints, Lambeth, and exercised his Episcopal powers in his parish church. The whole affair, it is true, was enveloped in mystery; from time to time a Pastoral Letter would appear, signed with a pseudonym, which was said to have been promulgated before witnesses on the steps of St. Paul's. It is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion as to the results obtained. Who could tell which was in the right of the two parties, one of which contended that the "Order" was limited to the three Bishops, or the Catholic journal which, in 1894, gave 800 as the approximate number of clergymen who had been reordained? At any rate, if this society did not greatly further Corporate Reunion, it accelerated individual conversions. Many of its adherents ended by becoming Catholics, as, for instance, the two notable converts, Bishops Mossman and Lee, who were received into the Church shortly before their death.[1]

IV

Pusey and the old Tractarians had not taken any part in the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Newman had noticed this with some regret. "Is it possible," he wrote to Phillipps de Lisle on July 9, 1857, "that the first generation has had its vintage, and that the second gathering of grapes belongs altogether to a second?"

[1] The conversion of Dr. Lee took place in 1901; his wife had preceded him by twenty years. See, on this mysterious society, *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 147-161, 327, 328, and "The O.C.R. and its Work," an article by Dr. Lee, published in the *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1898.

In the course of time, however, the idea of a Reunion of the Churches became rooted in the High Church party. In 1863 Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, in Scotland, a friend of Pusey, who had formerly very nearly quarrelled with his colleagues of the Scotch Episcopate, about a charge on the Eucharist, demanded an Ecumenical Council in order to bring about this Union. The following year Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote that the Lord desired that His Church should be one, and it was the duty of all its members to be in harmony with the mind of Him who was their Head. Finally, during the closing months of 1865, while the decisive condemnation of the A.P.U.C. was being resolved upon at Rome, Pusey himself was induced to speak publicly of the Union of the Churches.

In the course of the controversies aroused by the judgment of the Privy Council on the *Essays and Reviews* affair, Pusey, in a pamphlet published in September, 1864, had complained, not without some bitterness, of the attitude of certain Catholics who seemed to triumph in this "victory of Satan."[1] He called attention to the behaviour of other "earnest" Catholics, who, on the contrary, rejoiced in all the workings of God the Holy Ghost in the Church of England (whatever they might think of her), and were saddened in what weakenened her, who was, in God's hand, the great bulwark against infidelity in this land. Manning regarded this as a challenge, and immediately answered by a *Letter to Dr. Pusey on the Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England.* After some touching words of respect and affection for Pusey and the friends from whom his conversion had separated him, he entirely disclaims

[1] *Case as to the Legal Force of the Judgment of the Privy Council.*

any intention of ignoring the portion of Truth still retained by the Church of England, or the workings of the Holy Ghost in her, nor, he adds, has he ever rejoiced in the blows which have fallen upon her. But having made this declaration, the Archbishop proceeds to repudiate the statement that the Church of England was a barrier against infidelity or part of the Catholic Church. If the Holy Ghost acted *in* her, He did not act *by* her, or use her as an instrument, and Manning repeatedly insists that these operations of the Holy Ghost are equally common among the Dissenters. His aim is evidently to bring home to the Anglicans, especially to those who prided themselves on being Catholics, the fact that he made no distinction between them and other Protestants, who were all in his eyes equally heretics. These, as will be seen at once, are the identical ideas, and this the very tone, which sixteen months later he adopted in his Pastoral Letter, on the *Reunion of Christendom*.

Pusey was much hurt by Manning's language. "It denies us everything," he wrote to Newman, "except what, in a greater degree, Dissenters have too."[1] Anxious to vindicate his Church, Pusey's first aim was to prove, against his adversary, that it was a part of the Universal Church, and in possession of all essential Truths. But, in following out this idea, a question presented itself to his mind. If this Church was truly part of the Universal Church, why should it remain separated from her? Why not all reunite against the common enemy, instead of mutually tearing one another to pieces? The affair of *Essays and Reviews* had sufficiently demonstrated the necessity of concentrating the powers now so unhappily

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 98.

divided. Such reflections as these by degrees led Pusey to the idea of a Reunion of the Churches such as the A.P.U.C. had first brought forward. Thus the work which he had at first conceived as an aggressive refutation transformed itself into a petition for reconciliation. His war-weapons finally became offers of peace.[1]

When his book at last appeared, in September, 1865, after long delays and many vexatious incidents, it bore the name: *The Church of England a Portion of Christ's One, Holy, Catholic Church, and a Means of restoring Visible Unity. An Eirenicon, in a Letter to the Author of "The Christian Year."*

In this work Pusey tries to prove, in opposition to Manning, that the Church of England has a right to be called part of the Universal Church. He maintains that, without having any external relations with the other Christian communions, that Church is, nevertheless, in intimate union with them by virtue of a superior principle of union, which is no other than Jesus Christ Himself. Visible unity had remained substantially intact for several centuries; during that time the Church was one and undivided. In course of time some deplorable circumstances led to the destruction of this marvellous harmony, and efforts are being made to remedy this great evil. But, no matter what the result of these efforts may have been the Anglican Church will none the less always remain spiritually united to the Universal Church; for, in Pusey's eyes, external union, however normal it may be, and however much in conformity with the Will of God, is not absolutely necessary. Further, he instances from early

[1] Pusey has set forth this development of his views in his letters of this period (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 97-106).

ecclesiastical history particular Churches which were separated both from Rome and from one another, without any essential severance of the members thus temporarily dislocated.

But Pusey is none the less anxious for the restoration of visible unity, and in order to prepare the way for it he tries to prove that the Church of England professes all the essential truths of Christianity. Taking up the argument of *Tract* 90, which he was re-editing,[1] he maintains that the Thirty-nine Articles may be interpreted in a Catholic sense, and may be reconciled with the decisions of the Council of Trent. From this point of view he examines the different dogmas, and he professes to find agreement on all points. He is not without some embarrassment on the subject of the Pope's authority; we do not see quite clearly how far he goes. He seems to accept Papal supremacy as being more useful than necessary; in his opinion it is of ecclesiastical, not of Divine, right. He nevertheless declares, in a general way, that the Anglican Church can accept all the dogmas affirmed by the Council of Trent.

Where Pusey begins to find some divergence is not upon dogmas, but on what he calls "the practical system of Romanism," on certain opinions which have slipped into the popular teaching of Catholicism. He reviews these real or pretended excrescences. Some turn out to be abuses to which he gives an exaggerated importance; as to others, he has been deceived by false assertions. Others, again, are praiseworthy and more or less innocent practices, in harmony with Catholic truth, which his Protestant prejudices alone prevent him from under-

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 102.

standing and admitting. His chief rock of scandal is the cult of the Blessed Virgin. It would be hard to give a just notion of the prejudices which trouble and obscure so upright a conscience on this point. He sees in it "the chief obstacle to Reunion," and declares that it has always been "a cross" to him, and thereupon plunges into a furious attack on Mariolatry, which turns out to be a wholesale denunciation, not only of the exaggerations of an unauthorized and ill-understood devotion, but also of the legitimate manifestations and developments of Christian piety. To judge by the vehemence and bitterness of some of his criticisms which wound Catholic devotion in its most delicate feelings, one would almost forget that the author has proposed to himself a project of union, and would imagine that his aim was to rouse and to flatter the passions of Protestantism.

But Pusey does not lose sight of the unity which he desires to see restored, and indicates the way to bring it about. On the one hand, the Church of England must declare that she interprets her Articles in a sense conformable to the decisions of the Council of Trent; on the other, the Catholic Church must authoritatively declare that it suffices to believe the dogmas laid down by this Council, and that no one is obliged to admit certain opinions, or to join in certain practices, which, although not belonging to the essence of dogma, are at present in general use. She must, moreover, pledge herself not to erect these pious opinions into articles of faith, as was the case with the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and that the sayings of the Pope should not become dogmas. On such grounds as these it seemed to Pusey that a peace might be concluded. He

recalled the attempts which had been made in the past, and which had failed.[1]

Pusey took these propositions of peace so seriously that as soon as his book appeared he went abroad to present it himself to a certain number of French Bishops whom he selected as having given the wisest advice in the consultation preparatory to the definition of the Immaculate Conception. He wished to know, he wrote to Newman, whether these Bishops would think of giving Anglicans the same terms as Bossuet or Cardinal de Noailles would, as he believed, have given.[2] From October 11 to 20, 1865, he saw the Bishop of Coutances, the Vicar-General of Rennes, the Bishops of Laval and Chartres, and the Archbishop of Paris. The welcome he received varied. The Bishop of Laval was frankly unfavourable; others were more or less gracious. The traveller congratulated himself above all on his reception by Mgr. Darboy, whom he saw twice. After these interviews he wrote: "The first stone is, I trust, laid on which the two Churches may be again united—when God wills and when human wills obey." He praises the "moderate and comprehensive mind" of the Archbishop, "his wide and far-seeing views." He relates that when, at the end of the first interview, he asked the question, "Do you think it would be a practical matter to work for—the Reunion of the Churches on the basis of the Council of Trent explained?" Mgr. Darboy answered, "Yes." He also approved the idea of having a French translation of the *Eirenicon* made, promising to defend it if it were attacked, and assuring Pusey that "conciliators

[1] *Spiritual Letters of E. B. Pusey*, p. 219; *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 98, 108.

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 113.

were always successful in the end—that people did not wish for extremes."

Encouraged by the result of this first journey, after some weeks Pusey returned to France. Between December 19, 1865, and January 18, 1866, he once more saw the Archbishop of Paris, had an interview with Père Gratry, who received him "very affectionately," visited the Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, and the Bishop of La Rochelle; from thence he went on to Marseilles, Pau, Biarritz, Bordeaux. He relates that he is "deeply interested" in all that he has heard, "and, theologically, more satisfied than the first time." From Pau he writes[1] to one of his friends: "I have had three happy interviews. I do not like to name names, but one very eminent theologian ended a discussion of one and a half or two hours, in which I spoke freely, with the kiss of peace, owning me as a true brother; and an Archbishop, whom I had not before seen, did the same twice, after my asking for and having his benediction. A good priest, to whom he introduced me as a Catholic, rather opened his eyes to know whether I had been actually received." How far, in these interviews, were the more delicate questions discussed, and, notably, the supremacy of the Pope? On this point Pusey's account does not give a very clear impression, the more so as he admits that he had some trouble in understanding the French of his interlocutors. Besides, all that we know of these interviews is what the traveller wrote himself on the subject to his friends in England.[2] It would have been interesting to compare his account with the testimony of the prelates, or French

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 113-116, 132-134.
[2] *Ibid.*

priests, with whom he conversed; but unhappily we have no information from these sources.[1]

What is certain is that, by his good faith, by the ardour of his desire for union, by the sincerity of his adhesion to Catholic truths, and by the fervour of his piety, Pusey profoundly impressed those with whom he came in contact on that occasion. The Abbé Lagrange, then Vicar-General to Mgr. Dupanloup, and subsequently Bishop of Chartres, afterwards related in a Pastoral Letter that once, being alone in a carriage with Pusey, he had, at the end of a long discussion, taken up his breviary, when his companion begged him to recite the office of the day with him. "Providentially," continued the prelate, "it was the Office of the Chair of St. Peter, the Divine institution of which he had just been contesting, although he acknowledged it to be indispensable to the Church. When we had finished, we saw him, deeply touched by the beauty of this Catholic liturgy, join his two hands, lower his head, shut his eyes, while we reverently and silently watched the great tears roll down his cheeks. Suddenly, raising his voice, he said, 'I believe explicitly all that I know to be revealed, and implicitly all that is so.'"[2]

It was, in fact, by virtue of this implicit act of faith that his upright, if not clear-sighted, soul laid to rest the difficulties which had led so many of his friends to leave Anglicanism and submit to Rome. In making his will in 1875, he used the same language:[3] "I die in the faith of

[1] The biographers of Mgr. Darboy and Mgr. Dupanloup are silent upon this point, and the holders of the papers of these two prelates, when questioned by me, could give me no further information.

[2] *Lettre pastorale de Mgr. Lagrange, à l'Occasion de son entrée dans son Diocese*, Paris, 1890.

[3] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 390.

the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, believing *explicite* (as I have for many years declared) all which I know Almighty God to have revealed in her; and *implicite* anything which He may have revealed in her which I may not know."

At the very time when Pusey was interviewing the French Bishops, Pius IX., in an audience with Dean Stanley,[1] said to him: "You know Pusey? When you meet him, give him this message from me—that I compare him to a bell, which always sounds to invite the faithful to church, and itself always remains outside."

V

While Pusey was seeking support in France, his book naturally gave rise to many comments and controversies in England. The High Church party were, on the whole, satisfied with it, and the author congratulated himself on the numerous letters of approval which he received, especially those from the Bishops of Salisbury and Bristol. The English Church Union, from which he had long held aloof, probably because of its excessive ritualism, but which he then decided to join, passed a vote expressing its joy at the appearance of the *Eirenicon*, and its hope that God, in His own time and in His own way, would so dispose the hearts and minds of His people that the sad divisions which rent the seamless robe of Christ might be healed.[2]

It was not that the most clear-sighted among the High Churchmen did not perceive how chimerical was Pusey's

[1] *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, by R. E. Prothero, vol. ii., p. 358.

[2] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 79, 80.

design. One of them was Church, a former disciple of Newman. In a remarkable article, published in the *Times* of December 12, 1865, he praised the noble and generous sentiments which had inspired the *Eirenicon*, showing at the same time why it would not succeed. In his opinion, the author appeared not to have grasped the real mind of either of the two parties whom he proposed to reunite. What seemed to him particularly *naïf* was to suppose that the Church of Rome was inclined to enter into "explanations." In spite of this, however, Church did not regret that this great question of the Unity of Christendom had been thus brought forward.[1]

The *Eirenicon* was vehemently attacked by the Protestant party. An American Bishop declared that Pusey seemed not at home in the Church of England, and that he was "a Gallican of the left bank of the Channel." The most authoritative censure came from Tait, Bishop of London. In his Charge of 1866, alluding, in the first place, to the Address of the 198 members of the A P.U.C., he says: "Thus we feel ashamed when told of members of our noble Reformed Church going, cap in hand, to seek for some slight recognition from that old usurping power"; then, turning to Pusey's case, he adds: "It pains me also deeply to find men labouring to show that the Church of the Reformation has, after all, by some felicitous accident, escaped from being reformed; that, if we could only see it, there is nothing really Protestant in the Thirty-nine Articles, and nothing really Romish in the Decrees of Trent. . . . But, indeed, there is no sign that this mode of making peace with Rome is possible. Rome is too wise, and I think I may say for at least ninety-nine out

[1] *Occasional Papers*, by R. W. Church, vol. i., p. 334.

of every hundred of English Churchmen that they are too wise also."[1] The Bishop afterwards speaks of projects of union with the Eastern Churches, to which he attaches just as little weight.

Pusey must have found it hard to account to himself for his opinions in the midst of the very diverse appreciations of his co-religionists; he felt himself, as it were, tossed upon a sea, agitated by contrary winds. But he knew he need not fear that any measures would be taken against himself personally. In spite of the threats which appeared in some of the newspapers, no one seriously thought of putting him under the ban of the Church, as was done to Ward on account of his *Ideal of a Christian Church*.

Such had been the march of ideas since 1845.

VI

But for Pusey it was not only important to know that he was approved by those in whose name he made offers of peace: he had also to ascertain how these offers were viewed by those to whom they were made. The reception with which they met was varied. This diversity is to be explained both by the individual tendencies of each of his readers, and also by the twofold character of a book written under the influence of two successive states of mind—the first aggressive and the second pacific. Some Catholics saw in it, above all, a sincere desire for reconciliation and union; so new an attitude, although as yet incomplete and imperfect, seemed to them to deserve sympathy and encouragement. Even if, at first, it did

[1] *Life of Tait*, by Davidson, vol. i., p. 484.

not succeed, it was, at least, a happy beginning. They were quite aware that a humble and repentant submission would be the quickest and most logical way for the Anglicans to make their peace with the true Church; but, at the same time, they remembered that the Church, in her charity, knows how to dispense with rigorous forms, especially when she deals with numbers—a skilful and indulgent policy which, at the end of the French Revolution, the wise Abbé Emery recommended with regard to the constitutional priests, and which he proved at the time to be "justifiable by precedent." This point of view was naturally that of those who had shown sympathy to the A.P.U.C. A leading Catholic publication, the *Weekly Register*, published on November 18, 1865, a favourable appreciation of the *Eirenicon*, in which its ill-founded attacks were explained, and to a certain extent excused, by the fact that the author still belonged to the Anglican Church. Much stress was laid on the leading and fundamental idea of the book, which appeared to be all for peace and conciliation. The article, which was not signed, was by Father Lockhart. Pusey, greatly touched by this judgment of his work, wrote to the editor of the newspaper to thank him, and to assert afresh that there was nothing in the Council of Trent which could not be explained in a manner satisfactory to Anglicans if the explanation were given by authority—that was to say, by the Roman Church herself. Nevertheless, he adds, as touching the Pope's authority, "We heartily acknowledge the Primacy of the See of Rome, but we believe that the relations of this Primacy to other local Churches are a matter of ecclesiastical, not of Divine, right." This answer provoked, in the same paper, a letter, dated

November 23, from another convert, Oakeley, which also brought out in sympathetic terms the happy import of the *Eirenicon*. Pusey replied, on December 6, by once more asserting that he believed the whole of Catholic doctrine. These favourable expressions of certain English Catholics found an echo in France. A correspondent of the *Études religieuses*, the organ of the French Jesuits, developed this idea—that, all things considered, the publication of the *Eirenicon* was beneficial; "for," he added "in these days the *tendimus in Latium* is no longer a scarecrow."[1]

There were other English Catholics, on the contrary, who, struck by the unjust criticisms in Pusey's book, and the misleading expectation of a reconciliation by any other way than pure and simple submission to the true Church, gave a cold, sullen, and even openly hostile reception to the so-styled *Eirenicon*. On October 30, 1865, Ward warned Pusey that he looked upon his book as an "attack," and that he intended to "write strongly against it."[2] The *Month*, the organ of the English Jesuits, declared that the book was an attack, all the more perfidious because disguised.[3] Father Harper, a professor of theology, published a voluminous work under the title of *Peace through the Truth*, in which he showed that it would be impossible, on the platform on which Pusey had placed himself, to arrive at a solution.

As for Manning, he did not reply to Pusey by name, but all that he said in his Pastoral Letter of January 6, 1866, on the Unity of Christendom, against the *Unionists* of the A.P.U.C., applied equally to Pusey. In

[1] January, February, March, 1866.
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 119.
[3] *Month*, December, 1865.

certain passages he clearly has Pusey in view, although his name is not once mentioned. His language is plain, sometimes even disdainful, towards the inconsistency of the thesis he is refuting. The Archbishop certainly alluded to Pusey when he spoke of those who dreamt of a Universal Church which shall neither be that of the Thirty-nine Articles, as understood by Englishmen, nor that of the Council of Trent, as understood by Catholics, but the text of both, understood in a sense known neither to the Church of England nor to the Church of Rome.[1] And he continues:

"To profess a readiness to accept the Council of Trent, if it be interpreted according to our own opinion, is not to subject ourselves to the authority of the Council, but to subject it to our own judgment. . . . To ask for an authoritative interpretation, without engaging to submit to it, is to play fast and loose. . . . In what does this differ from the private judgment of the . . . common Protestant? . . . In his opinion the Council of Trent is tolerable if it agree with *Tract* 90; intolerable if it be in harmony with the faith, piety, devotion, and public worship of the Catholic and Roman Church throughout the world. Can private judgment exalt and enlarge itself beyond this girth and stature? . . . It seems strange that good men do not perceive the moral fault of such pretensions, and men of intellect their incoherence. . . . We should offend against both truth and charity if we were not to show with all fidelity and at all costs the impossibility of reunion on such terms. To receive the Council of Trent upon the principle of private judgment would make no man a Catholic. . . . God forbid that minds be so brought within the unity of the Church! It would multiply our number, but not multiply the faithful. It would be to introduce among us a new and un-Catholic element, a show of material agreement disguising a formal and vital contrariety. Much as we desire

[1] *Reunion of Christendom* (Manning).

to gather souls into the only Ark of Salvation, we dare not do so at the sacrifice of truth. . . . All encouragement to such habits of mind can only end in disappointment, and miseries worse than disappointment. It could only end in apostasies, and complaints, not unjust, that they had been deceived. . . . It is far more truthful and charitable to say, firmly and plainly: 'The Church of God admits of no transactions. Recognition of its Divine office, acknowledgment of previous error, submission to its Divine voice—these, and no others, are the condition of reunion. . . .'"

Further on, he again alludes to the criticisms of Pusey against "the practical system of Romanism," and adds:

"It is an ill-advised overture of peace to assail the popular, prevalent, and dominant opinions, devotions and doctrines of the Catholic Church with hostile criticism, and to appeal from them to some authoritative censure to be hereafter pronounced against them. What is this but to say, You must all come to my mind before I can unite with you? . . . To claim this universal censorship in the same breath which denies the infallibility of the living Church is hardly reasonable. . . . We may be sure that whatsoever is prevalent in the Church, under the eye of its public authority, practised by the people and not censured by its pastors, is at least conformable to faith and innocent as to morals. Whosoever rises up to condemn such practices and opinions thereby convicts himself of the private spirit, which is the root of heresy. . . ."[1]

Pusey was not surprised at this attitude of a prelate whom he was accustomed to class as one of the "extreme" party. But he was far more anxious to know what Newman's judgment would be. Between the two old friends the relations had been renewed which had been sundered since 1845.[2] Pusey did not hide his anxiety for Newman's

[1] *Reunion of Christendom.*

[2] It was in September, 1865, that, for the first time since his conversion, Newman had visited Pusey and had met Keble.

approval, and confided to him the successive changes of opinion which guided him while writing his book. Newman graciously received these confidences, but openly pointed out to his friend whatever he found inconsistent and chimerical in his views. Above all, he warned him that to decide, now and for ever, what would and would not be of faith was "unreasonable"; it would be, he said, to determine the work of all Councils until the end of time.[1] When the book appeared, Newman was painfully impressed; he felt that Catholics would be hurt by it. He immediately complained of this to Keble. It seemed to him, moreover, that the book purposed, and would result in, keeping souls in Anglicanism in expectation of the "corporate" exodus. But, on the other hand, he knew the good faith and the good intentions of the author; not for any consideration would he wound or thwart him. He was very glad that a Catholic reviewer *could* write as the *Weekly Register*, although, he added, "he could not write so leniently himself."[2] To Pusey, who had had an inkling of his views and had questioned him with some anxiety, he wrote: "It is true, too true, that your book has disappointed me. It does seem to me that *Eirenicon* is a misnomer." Then, with friendly frankness, he proceeds to point out how erroneous and irritating are many of its assertions. Pusey, distressed at being judged in this manner, denied that he had had any intention of offending; "but," he added, "I am in this dilemma: if I do not state difficulties, I seem unreal; if I state them, I seem controversial."[3]

Newman had not at first thought of publishing anything

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 97-101.

[2] Letter to Father Coleridge, November 24, 1865 (*The "Month" and J. H. Newman*, vol. i., pp. 14, 15).

[3] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 119-127.

on the questions now raised. Since the *Apologia*, which had obtained for him justice from his countrymen, a sort of serene peace had come over his mind. He felt no taste now for the keen, vehement, ironical controversies which, on the morrow of his conversion, he had so willingly engaged in against his former co-religionists.[1] "For myself," he wrote to Pusey on September 5, 1865, "I don't think I have written anything controversial for the last fourteen years. Nor have I ever, as I think, replied to any controversial notice of what I have written."

However, the debate soon became too serious in his eyes to make it possible for him to keep silent any longer. Such was his position that, whenever a grave question arose between Catholics and Protestants, both sides waited to hear his opinion. If he were to keep silence, he ran the risk of its being misunderstood. With great regret, then, he at last decided to speak. He warned Pusey in advance, in order to soften the blow. "If," he wrote, "I shall say anything which is in the way of remonstrance, it will be because, unless I were perfectly honest, I should not only do no good, but carry no one with me; but I am taking the greatest possible pains not to say a word which I should be sorry for afterwards."[2] As he afterwards explained to Phillipps de Lisle, the composition of this work cost him "much anxiety and uneasiness," on account of "so many various persons and parties whom he had to keep in view, and whom he wished to avoid offending."[3] He says he has had "an especial desire to act considerately towards the Catholic movement in the Anglican Church,

[1] See his lectures of 1850 and 1851 (vol. ii., pp. 172, 267).
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 106.
[3] *Life and Letters of Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., p. 9.

because they have been severely handled, and because kindness seems a better way of dealing with them."

Under the title of *Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey on the Occasion of his Eirenicon*, Newman's pamphlet appeared in December, 1865, preceding by several weeks Manning's Pastoral Letter. Before naming the point at issue, the author addressed a sort of affectionate welcome to his adversary; he wished to soften the blow which he was about to strike. He begins thus:

"No one who desires the union of Christendom, after its many and long-standing divisions, can have any other feeling than joy, my dear Pusey, at finding from your recent volume that you see your way to make definite proposals to us for effecting that great object, and are able to lay down the basis and conditions on which you could co-operate in advancing it. It is not necessary that we should concur in the details of your scheme, or in the principles which it involves, in order to welcome the important fact that, with your personal knowledge of the Anglican body, and your experience of its composition and tendencies, you consider the time to be come when you and your friends may, without imprudence, turn your minds to the contemplation of such an enterprise. . . . There is no one anywhere . . . who can affect so vast a circle of men, so virtuous, so able, so learned, so zealous, as come, more or less, under your influence; and I cannot pay them a greater compliment than to tell them that they ought all to be Catholics, nor do them a more affectionate service than to pray that they may one day become such. . . .

"I know the joy it would give those conscientious men, of whom I am speaking, to be one with ourselves. . . . I conjecture it by what I used to feel myself, while yet in the Anglican Church. I recollect well what an outcast I seemed to myself, when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of St. Athanasius or St. Basil, and set myself to study them; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholic

communion, I kissed them with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all that I had lost; and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious Saints, who bequeathed them to the Church, how I said to the inanimate pages, 'You are now mine and I am now yours, beyond any mistake.' Such, I conceive, would be the joy of the persons I speak of, if they could wake up one morning and find themselves rightfully possessed of Catholic traditions and hopes, without violence to their own sense of duty; and, certainly, I am the last man to say that such violence is in any case lawful, or that anyone may overleap what he deliberately holds to be God's command . . . for this reason, because their present circumstances have once, as you know, been my own. . . .

"Fully, then, do I recognize the rights of conscience in this matter. I find no fault with your stating, as clearly and completely as you can, the difficulties which stand in the way of your joining us. I cannot wonder that you begin with stipulating conditions of union, though I do not concur in them myself, and think that in the event you yourself would be content to let them drop. Such representations as yours are necessary to open the subject in debate; they ascertain how the land lies, and serve to clear the ground.

"Thus I begin; but after allowing as much as this, I am obliged in honesty to add what I fear, my dear Pusey, will pain you. Yet I am confident, my very dear friend, that at least you will not be angry with me if I say, what I must say if I say anything at all—viz., that there is much, both in the matter and in the manner of your volume, calculated to wound those who love you well, but love truth more. So it is; with the best motives, and kindest intentions—'Cœdimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem.' We give you a sharp cut and you return it. You complain of our being 'dry, hard, and unsympathizing,' and we answer that you are unfair and irritating. But we at least have not professed to be composing an 'Eirenicon' when we were treating you as foes. There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me—you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult."

This last passage, which sums up in so incisive a way the incoherency of Pusey's work, is the only one in the whole of this letter in which the biting sarcasm of the former controversialist reappears. Afterwards Newman insisted with affectionate tenderness on the offensive one-sidedness of Pusey's description of Catholic devotion, and asked what more could have been said by a Protestant fanatic. Formerly, Pusey had been less violent than he in the controversy against Rome; should not time have convinced him still more strongly of the inexpediency and the cruelty of such a warfare?

As to the state of mind in which he himself approached the debated questions, Newman unhesitatingly acknowledges that a convert enters the Church to learn, not to pick and choose; that he comes to seek there a living system, and not a mere collection of canons and decrees; and that by "the Catholic system" he ought to understand the rule of life and practices of devotion which are not formulated in the creeds. At any rate, after twenty years of Catholic life, he thought he had a right to have and to give his opinion on those free questions, where theologian differs from theologian, and nation from nation. He does not hesitate, therefore, to declare that he prefers English habits of belief and devotion to foreign habits, from the same causes and by the same right which justifies foreigners in preferring their own. And he replies to Pusey, who professes to quote only Faber and Ward from among the Catholic writers of the period, that, while praising the poetical fancy, the engaging frankness, the playful wit, the affectionateness, the sensitive piety of the one, the energy, the acuteness, and the theological reading of the other, he refuses to acknow-

ledge them as the spokesmen of English Catholics. As for himself, he holds to the Fathers. "The Fathers made me a Catholic," he says, "and I am not going to kick down the ladder by which I ascended into the Church."

It was, then, by the testimony of the Fathers that Newman was about to examine the criticisms of Pusey against the Blessed Virgin. In the first place, he draws a distinction between doctrine and devotion: doctrine is one and the same from the very beginning; devotion can grow and be modified. This distinction, he says, is forcibly brought home to a convert as a peculiarity of the Catholic religion, on his first introduction to its worship. Faith is everywhere one and the same, but a large liberty is left to private judgment and inclination as regards matters of devotion. Applying these ideas to the cult of the Blessed Virgin, he begins by proving, from the Fathers whom he marshals before us one after another, that all of them taught the eminent prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin, just as they are acknowledged to this day by Catholics. As to devotion to Mary, he acknowledges, on the contrary, that it can vary and develop with time. Can we, then, be surprised if this devotion, founded upon love, has not always frigidly restrained itself within the bounds of wisdom? Newman then makes the following excellent remarks:

"Of all passions, love is the most unmanageable; nay, more, I would not give much for that love which is never extravagant, which always observes the proprieties, and can move about in perfect good taste under all emergencies. What mother, what husband or wife, what youth or maiden in love, but says a thousand foolish things, in the way of endearment, which the speaker would be sorry for strangers to hear; yet they are not on that account unwelcome to

the parties to whom they are addressed. Sometimes, by bad luck, they are written down, sometimes they get into the newspapers; and what might be even graceful, when it was fresh from the heart and interpreted by the voice and the countenance, presents but a melancholy exhibition when served up cold for the public eye. So it is with devotional feelings. Burning thoughts and words are as open to criticism as they are beyond it. What is abstractedly extravagant may in particular persons be becoming and beautiful, and only fall under blame when it is found in others who imitate them. When it is formalized into meditations or exercises, it is as repulsive as love-letters in a police report."[1]

Newman remarks, with equal justice, that the religion of the multitude is always vulgar and abnormal; it will ever be tinctured with fanaticism and superstition, while men are what they are. Hence he says, that compromise of which our countrymen report so unfavourably from abroad—a high grand faith and worship which compels their admiration, and puerile absurdities among the people which excite their contempt.

Then, kindled by his subject, Newman let his piety expand in the following pages, which are among the most beautiful ever written upon Our Lady; as we cannot reproduce them all, let us at least quote a few fragments:

"When once we have mastered the idea that Mary bore, suckled, and handled the Eternal in the form of a child, what limit is conceivable to the rush and flood of thoughts which such a doctrine involves? What awe and surprise must attend upon the knowledge that a creature has been brought so close to the Divine Essence! It was the creation of a new idea and of a new sympathy, of a new faith and worship, when the holy Apostles announced that God had become Incarnate; then a supreme

[1] Letter to E. B. Pusey.

love and devotion to Him became possible, which seemed hopeless before that revelation. But, besides this, a second range of thoughts was opened on mankind, unknown before, and unlike any other, as soon as it was understood that that Incarnate God had a Mother. The second idea is perfectly distinct from the former; the one does not interfere with the other. He is a God made low; she is a woman made high. . . . Mary is only our adopted Mother, given us from the Cross; her presence is above, not on earth; her office is external, not within us. Her name is not heard in the administration of the Sacraments . . . her power is indirect. It is her prayers that avail, and her prayers are effectual by the 'fiat' of Him Who is our all in all. . . .

"There is another range of thought (quite distinct from them) . . . of which the Blessed Virgin is the centre. If we placed Our Lord in that centre, we should only be dragging Him from His throne, and making Him an Arian kind of a God—that is, no God at all. He who charges us with making Mary a divinity is thereby denying the divinity of Jesus. Such a man does not know what divinity is. Our Lord cannot pray for us as a creature prays, as Mary prays; He cannot inspire those feelings which a creature inspires. To her belongs, as being a creature, a natural claim on our sympathy and familiarity, in that she is nothing else than our fellow. She is our pride—in the poet's words, 'Our tainted nature's solitary boast.' We look to her without any fear, any remorse, any consciousness that she is able to read us, judge us, punish us. Our heart yearns towards that pure Virgin, that gentle Mother, and our congratulations follow her, as she rises . . . through the choirs of Angels, to her throne on high. . . . So modest, yet so mighty, she has sketched for us her own portrait in the *Magnificat*: 'He hath regarded the low estate of his handmaid; for behold, from henceforth, all generations shall call me blessed.'"

Then all the national feelings of an Englishman, so strong in Newman, even after his conversion, find vent in the following digression, so well calculated to touch and win the hearts of his countrymen:

"I recollect the strange emotion which took by surprise men and women, young and old, when, at the Coronation of our present Queen, they gazed on the figure of one so like a child, so small, so tender, so shrinking, who had been exalted to so great an inheritance and so vast a rule, who was such a contrast in her own person to the solemn pageant which centred in her. Could it be otherwise with the spectators, if they had human affection? And did not the All-Wise know the human heart when He took to Himself a Mother? Did He not anticipate our emotion at the sight of such an exaltation in one so simple and so lowly? If He had not meant her to exert that wonderful influence in His Church which she has in the event exerted —I will use a bold word—He it is Who has perverted us. If she is not to attract our homage, why did He make her solitary in her greatness amid His vast creation? If it be idolatry in us to let our affections respond to our faith, He would not have made her what she is, or He would not have told us that He had so made her; but, far from this, He has sent His Prophet to announce to us, 'A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel,' and we have the same warrant for hailing her as God's Mother as we have for adoring Him as God."

Newman frankly admits that there may have been abuses, that devotion may have sometimes degenerated into superstition; but he strongly denies that, among Catholics, these abuses have been so general and so authorized as Pusey declares. He clearly demonstrates that the worship of Christ has always been pre-eminent, and proves that "just those nations and countries have lost their faith in the divinity of Christ who have given up devotion to His Mother." He asserts that these abuses are not to be found in the teaching of theologians, but, on the contrary, they have been condemned by them. To certain strange assertions concerning Mary, quoted in the *Eirenicon*, he answers that he has never heard of them,

and that they are probably as little known to the great majority of English Catholics as to himself. He does not hesitate to declare that such statements "seem to him like a bad dream," and that he "will have nothing to do with statements which can only be explained by being explained away." But he makes the following reservation: "I do not, however, speak of these statements as they are found in their authors, for I know nothing of the originals, and cannot believe that they have meant what you say; but I take them as they lie in your pages."

Having thus explained his views on all sides of the question, Newman concludes as follows:

"And now, after having said so much as this, bear with me, my dear friend, if I end with an expostulation. Have you not been touching us on a very tender point in a very rude way? Is it not the effect of what you have said to expose her to scorn and obloquy who is dearer to us than any other creature? Have you even hinted that our love for her is anything else than an abuse? Have you thrown her one kind word yourself all through your book? I trust so, but I have not lighted upon one. And yet, I know you love her well. Can you wonder, then—can I complain much, much as I grieve—that men should utterly misconceive of you, and are blind to the fact that you have put the whole argument between you and us on a new footing? . . . If certain Catholics have not done you justice, it is because, in truth, the honour of Our Lady is dearer to them than the conversion of England.

"So far concerning the Blessed Virgin, the chief, but not the only, subject of your volume. And now, when I could wish to proceed, she seems to stop all controversy, for the Feast of her Immaculate Conception is upon us; and close upon its octave, which is kept with special solemnities in the churches of this town, come the great Antiphons, the heralds of Christmas. That joyful season, joyful for all of us, while it centres in Him Who then came on earth, also brings before us in peculiar prominence that

Virgin Mother who bore and nursed Him. Here she is not in the background, as at Eastertide, but she brings Him to us in her arms. Two great festivals, dedicated to her honour, to-morrow's and the Purification, mark out and keep the ground, and, like the towers of David, open the way to and fro for the high holiday season of the Prince of Peace. And all along it her image is upon it, such as we see it in the typical representation of the Catacombs. May the sacred influences of this tide bring us all together in unity! May it destroy all bitterness on your side and ours! May it quench all jealous, sour, proud, fierce antagonism on our side, and dissipate all captious, carping, fastidious refinements of reasoning on yours! May that bright and gentle Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary, overcome you with her sweetness, and revenge herself on her foes by interceding effectually for their conversion!"

The effect of this admirable letter, for the long extracts from which I make no apology, was considerable. It showed clearly what was impracticable in Pusey's project, and proved to be a refutation of his criticisms most decisive and most intelligible to the English mind. It vindicated Catholic doctrine precisely where it had been most insidiously attacked, while, at the same time, it avoided giving offence to, or repelling, men whose good faith and goodwill it frankly acknowledged. It had succeeded in telling the whole truth, in blaming where necessary, and yet in keeping its tone charitable and even tender. For this reason it did not, as Manning's Pastoral, cause annoyance or wounded feeling. In an article in the *Times*, Church contrasted the "courteous, affectionate, conciliating" language of Newman with what he styled "the polished sarcasms and unmeasured disdain" of the Archbishop.

As for Pusey, he bore no malice towards his opponent;

the relations between them continued to be as confiding and as affectionate as ever. But he was greatly disappointed that Newman rejected the feasibility of the compromise he had proposed. For him, moreover, the hour was sad. His friend Keble succumbed on March 29, 1866, to an attack of paralysis. Although Keble had for a long time held aloof, entirely devoted to the care of his country parish and to the aspirations of a pious heart, habitually directed towards the supernatural, he had, nevertheless, remained one of the acknowledged heads of the Catholic movement among the Anglicans. He was respected and venerated as much as Pusey, but his personality appeared as more tender, and surrounded by an atmosphere of mystery and poetry. Since Newman's secession, Pusey had habitually leant upon Keble; he sought his advice, and seemed to find security in his approval. He had just addressed his *Eirenicon* to him. His loss left a void in Pusey's heart which no one else could fill. The former Tractarian accordingly decided to join the rising generation of young Ritualists, but always felt himself rather out of his element amongst them, and they could never compensate him for the loss of that old and tender friendship. He seemed for a time prostrated under the blow. "I never," wrote one of his friends, "saw Dr. Pusey so broken as to-day." In his distress his thoughts turned once more to Newman, in spite of the separation between them, and it was to him he communicated the impressions made upon him by the funeral ceremony. "The church," he wrote to him, "was full of mourners, as you will think. But there is nothing to add, for *he* was away. . . . When *he* was wandering he spoke of the Reunion of the Churches, and I think he spoke as if

he were present at it." Newman, for his part, however much he might regret that a soul so dear to him, and who had been, at one time, so near Catholicism, should not have followed him in his conversion, was nevertheless fully convinced of his moral worth. "How strange it is," he wrote to a Jesuit friend of his, "that dear Keble seems to have received all doctrine except the necessity of being in communion with the Holy See!" We can judge of the esteem in which Keble was held by his co-religionists by the efforts which were made to honour his memory. Hardly was his tomb closed, when a subscription was started with the object of founding at Oxford a college named after him, to maintain and develop among the younger men of the University the Catholic "revival" of which he had been one of the promoters. As early as 1868 sufficient funds were collected for beginning the building. When, at length, in February, 1878, Newman revisited Oxford, after an absence of just thirty-two years, one of his first calls was to Keble College.

CHAPTER VI

MANNING AND NEWMAN

I. Persistent divergence of view between Newman and Manning—Manning believes it his duty to thwart Newman's wishes—He is encouraged in this by Ward and Talbot. II. Newman's fresh effort to establish the Oratory at Oxford—Manning causes Rome to oppose, and to make a second pronouncement against, Catholics going to the national Universities. III. A newspaper attack on Newman calls forth an address of protest from several distinguished Catholics—The impression produced on Manning and his friends—Fruitless effort of Manning to bring about an understanding between himself and Newman. IV. Newman is hurt by the suspicions that surround him and the obstacles placed in the way of his undertakings—But he enjoys his retirement, and feels called to a life of isolation—His habitual communion with the invisible world—His life at Edgbaston—His anxious care for the school attached to the Oratory. V. Long and laborious preparation for the *Grammar of Assent*—The ideas developed in that book—The effect produced—Newman as a poet—*The Dream of Gerontius.*

I

WE have already had glimpses, while discussing the various phases of the Reunion Movement, of certain divergences of language and attitude between Newman and Manning. In fact, the contrast already commented upon between the characters and views of the two great converts, far from lessening, was becoming more accentuated. Newman constantly deprecated extreme views and aggressive measures in religious matters, less on his own account than out of apostolic solicitude for souls,

who, he feared, would be thus troubled and repelled. He preferred "patience," which, as he said, knows how to bear for a while with what we feel to be error, in consideration of the truth in which it is eventually to issue. He said once, "It is but a small thing to gain the praise of those who agree with ourselves," and he thought it more meritorious to be tolerant in the face of contradiction. Convinced as he was that to most men, however well intentioned, religion is a yoke and a burden, he was quite willing, for their sake, to practise, in expounding the truths of Faith, what he called "a wise and gentle minimism." "Just now," he wrote to a Jesuit friend of his, "a keen conflict is going on between two parties, one in the Church and one out of it, and at such seasons extreme views alone are in favour, and a man who is not extravagant is thought treacherous. I sometimes think of King Lear's daughters, and consider that they, after all, may be found the truest who are in speech more measured." He was particularly on the alert with regard to the care and circumspection which ought to be used in dealing with the prejudices of the English public. Being consulted about this time by a Jesuit, on the projected foundation of a Catholic review, he acknowledged how useful it might be in disabusing those Protestants who were accustomed to picture Catholics as their intellectual inferiors, forming a body apart, taking no interest in national questions; but, as he says, "As to the direct inculcation of Catholic truth, as such, in such a periodical, I should dread its effect."

Such an outlook was very different from that which Manning held at the same period. He, on the contrary, seemed to imagine that it was a duty and a point of

honour to disregard English ideas, by pressing forward, without any precautions, whatever was most repugnant to them in Catholic doctrine. He thus gained a reputation for extreme views among his fellow-countrymen. His former Anglican friends were not a little surprised at this. Gladstone, who had renewed friendly relations with him, wrote to Odo Russell, the informal agent of the British Government at Rome: "It is curious that Manning has so greatly changed his character. When he was Archdeacon with us, all his strength was thought to lie in a governing faculty and in its wise moderation. Now he is ever quoted as the *ultra* of ultras."[1] Towards the end of his life Manning recalled his unpopularity during the first years of his Episcopate. "I doubt if anybody was more assailed," he said. He was so much the more sensitive to it, as, so short a time before, when an Anglican Archdeacon, he had been so popular with his fellow-countrymen. "Suddenly I passed from midsummer into midwinter." He prided himself on this change, and attributed it to the fact that he had never sought popularity by bating half a tone of any unpopular truth which it fell to his lot to teach, and applies to himself the text: *Si hominibus placerem non essem servus Jesu Christi.*[2]

If the only differences between Manning and Newman had been those caused by their different conception of ecclesiastical duty, there would have been no cause for uneasiness, inspired as they both were by the love of souls and devotion to Christ. With the sole restriction of keeping within the limits fixed by the rules of faith and discipline, Catholicism has at all times given scope to

[1] Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. ii., pp. 509, 510.
[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 721.

that variety of interpretation which is natural to a diversity of intellects and temperaments; it is a sign of life, a principle of fecundity and progress. Free discussion and the lessons of experience will in the end secure triumph for the more correct views. Newman, for his part, freely recognized such divergences. He writes thus to Ward, who was one of the most dogmatic of the extreme party:

"I do not feel our differences to be such a trouble as you do; for such differences always have been, always will be, in the Church; the Christians would have ceased to have spiritual and intellectual life if such differences did not exist. It is part of their militant state. No human power can hinder it; nor, if it attempted it, could do more than make a solitude and call it peace. Man cannot hinder it, and God will not. He means such differences to be an exercise of charity."[1]

Unhappily, such was not Manning's point of view, and the result of his differences with Newman was that he thought himself bound to do all in his power to counteract and destroy the influence of the one Catholic whose co-operation would have been of most value to him, and who could have gained the surest hold on English public opinion. The authority which the success of the *Apologia* had gained for its author, far from making a favourable impression on Manning's mind, only increased his dread of Newman's influence. This distrust was certainly not, as some have imagined, the effect of petty personal jealousy; it was fear of imperilling the religious policy to which he had passionately attached himself, and on which he thought the future of Catholicism in England depended. Hence arose the persistency and increase of

[1] Letter of February 18, 1866 (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 321).

that hostility already noticed in Manning before his elevation to the Archbishopric of Westminster. At a time in other ways so satisfactory to Catholicism in England this alienation between two such prominent personages, both of whom equally claim our gratitude and admiration, is much to be regretted. Should we, then, throw a veil over these facts? Such has not been my opinion; they form a part of history, and history is only truthful when nothing is concealed. They contain, moreover, a lesson which may be useful to us all.

At the time of his promotion to the Archbishopric, Manning, faithful to the system of courteous advances by means of which he disarmed his former adversaries, had written to invite Newman to the ceremony of his consecration. The latter had promised to come, but in his answer there is a vein of suspicious reserve. He thought the apparent friendliness of the invitation was merely an external form, quite compatible with the fixed resolve to oppose him. He was not mistaken in this. The Archbishop had lost none of his prejudices. If he had been tempted to lull them to sleep, his habitual advisers would have taken care once more to rouse them. On the very day of the consecration, Ward, disturbed at hearing that Manning had spoken courteously about Newman, wrote as follows:

"Of course, there is a very dangerous extreme to be avoided. But is it not also dangerous to speak of J. H. N. with *simple sympathy?* If it is true (and I for one have no doubt at all) that he is exercising a most powerful influence in favour of what is *in fact*—though *he* doesn't think so—(1) disloyalty to the Vicar of Christ, and (2) worldliness, is not harm done by conveying the impression that there is no cause for distrust? But, unfor-

tunately (as I think), Newman has slighted you in some degree, and this leads you possibly to magnify the Christian duty of forgiveness, while not adequately pondering on the Christian duty of protest. Excuse my impudence, which is incurable."[1]

It would seem that Newman's *Letter* in reply to Pusey's *Eirenicon* could only have won from Catholics a feeling of grateful admiration. But in the course of the discussion, in order to disprove some Protestant criticisms, the author disclaimed certain exaggerations. This was looked upon as unpardonable. Mgr. Talbot writes to Manning from Rome:

"I have read Newman's letter to Pusey. The patristic argument is admirable and unanswerable, but there is nothing new in it. The introduction and some other passages are detestable. . . . They are most uncatholic and unchristian. I am afraid that the *Home and Foreign Review* and the old school of Catholics will rally round Newman in opposition to you and to Rome. Stand firm; do not yield a bit in the line you have taken. The Oratory (London) will support you, Ward, and many others; and, what is better still, you will have the Holy See on your side. . . . I repeat myself: continue to stand forward as the advocate of Roman views in England. . . . As I have promised, I shall stand by you. You will have battles to fight, because every Englishman is naturally anti-Roman. Dr. Newman is more English than the English. His spirit must be crushed."

In another letter he adds: "Newman's work none here can understand. Poor man! by living almost ever since he has been a Catholic surrounded by a set of inferior men who idolize him, I do not think he has ever acquired the Catholic instincts." And Manning replies:

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 309, 310.

"What you write about Dr. Newman is true. Whether he knows it or not, he has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, cold and silent, to say no more, about the temporal power, national, English, critical of Catholic devotions; I see much danger of an English Catholicism of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism, and it will have the worldly on its side, and will deceive many. Now, Ward and Faber may exaggerate, but they are a thousand times nearer to the mind and spirit of the Holy See than those who oppose them. Between us and them there is a far greater distance than between them and Dr. Pusey's book. I know that the Anglicans look on the *Apologia* as a plea for remaining as they are. . . . The thing which will save us from low views about the Mother of God and the Vicar of Our Lord is the million Irish in England and the sympathy of the Catholics in Ireland. . . . I am thankful to know that they have no sympathy for the watered, literary, worldly Catholicism of certain Englishmen. It will spread somewhat among the English priests, and will find no little favour among English Jesuits; but the religious of every order instinctively feel that it is not the mind of the Church. . . . I have, therefore, no great anxiety."[1]

It is well to remark here that Newman, on his side, was at this time more just towards Manning than the latter was towards him. To Phillipps de Lisle, who had complained to him of the tone of the Archbishop's Pastoral Letter, he replied:

"I do not think it right to judge of such publications as the Archbishop's Pastoral as if they were merely private and personal compositions. An Archbishop has great duties to perform: he has to defend the faith; he

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 322-324.

must beware of betraying it; and he must emphatically put truth in the first place and charity in the second. He cannot, by virtue of his office, indulge his feelings, and he seems to be stern when really he is but faithful to his trust."[1]

Although ignorant of the correspondence between Manning and Talbot, Newman could perceive, from more indications than one, that there was a secret movement on foot against him. Moreover, though Talbot himself had prudently advised that Newman's pamphlet should not be publicly attacked, aspersions cast upon Newman's orthodoxy, and evidently traceable to the influence of the Archbishop and his confidant, appeared in some of the Catholic journals. Pusey expressed his sympathy with Newman on the subject of these attacks, and the latter replied as follows:

"Thank you for your sympathy about the attacks on me, but you have enough upon yourself to be able to understand that they have no tendency to annoy me, and, on the other hand, are a proof that one is doing a work. . . . The truth is that certain views have been suffered without a word, till the maintainers have begun to fancy that they are *de fide*, and they are astonished and angry beyond measure when they find that silence on the part of others was not acquiescence, indifference, or timidity, but patience. My own Bishop and Dr. Clifford, and I believe most of the other Bishops, are with me. And I have had letters from the most important centres of theology and of education through the country taking part with me."[2]

[1] Letter of February 27, 1866 (*Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., p. 10).

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 137, 138.

II

Newman was soon to feel, in a matter which he had very much at heart, the direct and public effects of the Archbishop's hostility. It will be remembered that in 1864, without in any way pretending to decide the controversy as to the attendance of Catholics at the Universities, he had projected the foundation of a house of the Oratory at Oxford, so that the young men who were actually there at the time might not be left without the helps of religion. But he had been obliged to renounce this project owing to the opposition raised by Manning and his friends in Rome, and among the English Catholic Bishops. The Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Ullathorne, greatly regretted the failure of this plan, to which he had given his support. This prelate, a Benedictine, and a former missionary in Australia, much respected for his zeal and piety, was an upholder of the old traditional views, with nothing of the Liberal about him; but being sensible and straightforward, and an enemy to all party prejudice, he was as opposed to extremes as he was to rash innovations. Without sharing all Newman's ideas, he was well disposed towards him, and highly appreciated his powers, by which he might do service to the Church. He therefore felt keenly the unjust and tactless hostility shown towards the ablest member of his diocese. In June, 1866, he accordingly made a fresh attempt to establish an Oratory in Oxford, and addressed a petition to the Propaganda on the subject. He received, in reply, a Rescript, dated December 18, which, while accepting the idea of the projected foundation, directed the Bishop to discountenance Dr. Newman's taking up his residence

there. Bishop Ullathorne, aware that such an exclusion would be fatal to the success of the scheme, and somewhat embarrassed, being unwilling to let Newman know that he was distrusted, simply told him that the plan had been accepted, saying nothing about a restriction, which he confidently believed he could finally set aside by his personal explanations. Newman, with the Bishop's approval, then issued a circular, in which he announced the projected foundation, and asked for subscriptions. The sum of £5,000 was soon raised. His opponents immediately took alarm, and forestalled the Bishop of Birmingham's explanations at Rome. Manning, who was the great leader in this campaign, insisted in his letters to Talbot that the presence of Dr. Newman would serve as a pretext for sending Catholic youths there, and that thus the very dangerous tendencies which were already spreading would be encouraged. What he most dreaded was "a certain Anglo-Catholicism" in which the English national spirit tended to prevail over loyalty to Rome.[1] Such views were sure to have influence over Pius IX. In vain did Newman send to Rome his faithful companion, Ambrose St. John, with precise instructions as to the answers to be made to the various objections; in vain, in these same instructions, did he recall the fact that, though there was a danger of increasing the number of Catholic youths at the Universities, yet it would be counterbalanced by the advantage of an Oratory church for those Catholics who would, in any case, go to Oxford, and who, but for this, would be deprived of religious assistance. All was in vain. The Prefect of the Propaganda directed Bishop Ullathorne to "take heed lest

[1] *Life of Ambrose Philipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., p. 11.

Dr. Newman should do anything which might favour in any way the presence of Catholics at the University."[1]

This new disappointment was a great blow to Newman, the more so as those who, on the faith of his accusers, had decided on his exclusion had never even taken the trouble to question him upon his own views and plans. He had been still more wounded when Cardinal Reisach, who had come to England to collect information on the Oxford question, had avoided an interview with him.[2] Nevertheless, with his invariable submission to religious authority, even when least considerate towards him, he unhesitatingly abandoned a second time the project of an Oratory at Oxford. He issued a circular informing his friends that he had been obliged to alter his plans, but, much to Manning's displeasure, gave them to understand, at the same time, that the refusal of permission from Rome was due to temporary causes.

The Archbishop was not satisfied with having once more thwarted Newman in the Oxford scheme; he thought it well to make use of the opportunity to renew and strengthen the resolutions formerly passed against the frequentation of the Universities. He still felt much anxiety because, in spite of the preceding enactments, the number of Catholics at the Universities was on the increase. Two Bishops were openly in favour of such a frequentation, and others were wavering. In a meeting of Bishops held at the end of April, 1867, he urged his colleagues to make new declarations confirming the earlier ones, and to express the wish that the Pope should not merely content himself

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 290; *Life of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, p. 12.

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 314, 315.

with discouraging the attendance of Catholics at the Universities, but that he should expressly forbid it, and, moreover, impose on the clergy the obligation of hindering it by every means in their power. Rome thought it wise to go no farther. The clergy and laity were merely warned that Catholic youth ran a risk at the Universities, and that to expose oneself to the danger of mortal sin was a grave fault, unless under some urgent necessity.[1] But the barrier was less secure than the Archbishop wished.

III

The suspicions cast upon Newman's orthodoxy were all the more difficult to disprove, as they were not made public. Sometimes, however, they came to light, as in the case of the anonymous attacks which appeared on April 6, 1867, in the Roman letter of the *Weekly Register*. The publicity of this attack had, at least, the advantage of raising a protest. Under the leadership of Mr. Monsell (afterwards first Baron Emly), two hundred laymen, comprising most of the distinguished English Catholics, held a meeting, and drew up an address to Dr. Newman, in which they expressed their gratitude for all the services he had rendered to the Catholic religion, and declared that "every blow that touched him inflicted a wound on the Catholic Church in England." Newman's answer was most sympathetic and touching:

"The attacks of opponents are never hard to bear when the person who is the subject of them is conscious in himself that they are undeserved; but in the present

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 301-303; *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, pp. 12, 13; *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Progress*, by Percy Fitzgerald, vol. ii., pp. 274, 275.

instance I have small cause indeed for pain or regret at their occurrence, since they have at once elicited in my behalf the warm feelings of so many dear friends who know me well, and of so many others whose good opinion is the more impartial for the very reason that I am not personally known to them. Of such men, whether friends or strangers to me, I would a hundred times rather receive the generous sympathy than have escaped the misrepresentations which are the occasion of their showing it."[1]

Manning was displeased at such a manifestation of feeling. "This address of the laity," he wrote to Talbot, "is, as you say, a revelation of the absence of Catholic instinct, and the presence of a spirit dangerous to many. . . . It implies that to touch Newman is to wound the Catholic Church. But if Rome should touch him? *The whole movement is directed and sustained by those who wish young Catholics to go to Oxford.*" He warned his correspondent not to let the Bishop of Birmingham alarm the Propaganda by the names and number of these lay signatures. At the same time, before the public, he thought it necessary to join in the condolences addressed to Newman. He therefore wrote to him expressing the displeasure he felt at the attacks made upon him by the *Weekly Register*. Thus: "I feel it more in accordance with all that has ever passed between us to assure you that whatsoever gives you pain is to me a source of very real regret." This politeness surprised and displeased Ward and Talbot, who thought it arose from a want of courage. Talbot reminded Manning of the necessity of putting a check on those of the "laity who wished to be the rulers of the Catholic Church in England instead of the Holy See and the Episcopate," and de-

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 313, 314.

scribed their address as "an insult offered to the Holy See and to your Grace." "They are now beginning," he adds, "to show the cloven foot, which I have seen the existence of for a long time. . . . What is the province of the laity? To hunt, to shoot, to entertain? These matters they understand; but to meddle with ecclesiastical matters they have no right at all, and this affair of Newman is a matter purely ecclesiastical." He even went so far as to write the following monstrous assertion, after reading which one ought to bear in mind that, within two years, he was confined in a lunatic asylum: "Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England." He then warned Manning that any want of firmness on his part might deprive him of the confidence of the Pope. "I tell you all this in confidence," he says, "because I already begin to hear some whisperings which might become serious." Manning was forced to justify himself under the reproaches of so uncompromising a censor; he declared that he had not been influenced by fear or by neutrality, but explained that, whatever might be his real views, he was bound to use prudence and circumspection in his relations with Newman. "A word or act of mine towards Dr. Newman might divide the Bishops and throw some on his side." It would be a victory to those Anglicans "whose chief aim for the past five years had been to set Dr. Newman and himself in conflict." He ended his letter by begging his correspondent to make the substance of this letter known where he felt specially anxious to be understood.

Manning clearly saw how undesirable it was that his differences with Newman should be made public. Therefore, about this time, July, 1867, without abandoning

any of his former prejudice, he tried to bring about some kind of external reconciliation. He made use of Oakeley, one of the earlier converts, as his intermediary. The Archbishop opened the correspondence by declaring the grief he felt at the estrangement between them, and his desire to put an end to it, by written explanations, or, better still, by word of mouth. Although Newman was not in the secret of the correspondence between Manning and Talbot, he knew that he was denounced to Rome by the very man who now held out to him the hand of friendship. He could not, therefore, bring himself to accept advances which appeared to him wanting in sincerity. He answered with a frankness which was almost blunt that "Manning was difficult to understand," that the events of the last four years had caused in him a certain mistrust which he was unable to dismiss from his mind, and that, in these circumstances, meetings and explanations would be fruitless. Manning, somewhat hurt, replied that "he felt in Newman exactly what Newman felt in him, and that he also was 'difficult to understand.'" A correspondence begun under such conditions did not hold out much chance of final reconciliation. And after an interchange of letters, in which each of the writers reviewed the past, Newman, on September 2, 1867, cut short these retrospective explanations, in which he had found no relief for his grievances, "I write this," he wrote to Manning, "as a protest and an appeal to posterity. Meanwhile, I purpose to say seven Masses for your intention amid the difficulties and anxieties of your ecclesiastical duties." The Archbishop immediately replied in the same tone: "I am much obliged by your kind intention of saying Mass for me, and

I shall have great pleasure in saying one every month for your intention during the next year. I have more confidence in this than in anything else to bring about what we desire." And he proceeds to inform Talbot that "I have made an attempt to soften Dr. Newman, but he is very difficult. We ended by a promise to say Masses for each other." But at the same time he adds: "I have no anxiety about it, nor need you have any."[1]

On a subsequent occasion, two years later, the Archbishop made another attempt to come to an understanding, but it only brought down upon him the following retort from Newman: "I can only repeat what I said when you last heard from me. I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you. In spite of my friendly feelings, this is the judgment of my intellect. Yours affectionately in Christ."[2]

Manning considered it "hardly fitting on his part" to reply to a letter couched in such terms, and for years they neither wrote nor met, till Newman was made Cardinal by Leo XIII.

These are painful incidents, and one would have wished to see very different relations existing between these two great Churchmen.

At first sight Manning appears the more conciliatory, and Newman has the ungracious appearance of one who refuses the hand held out to him. But the Archbishop could only be considered the real peacemaker had he ceased to report disparagingly to Rome concerning one by whom he wished to be regarded as a friend. But he did nothing

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 305, 306, 327-342.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

of the kind; he seemed to think himself more than ever bound in conscience to ruin an influence which he considered dangerous. His advances, apparently, were only intended to conceal from the public, Catholic as well as Protestant, a division which he felt gave scandal. Can we, then, be astonished that Newman was disinclined to accept such protestations, coming, as he said, from a man who, while publicly offering him friendship, secretly offered him cruel injuries, and treated him as a disloyal soul?

IV

The suspicions and want of confidence of which Newman felt himself the centre threw him back upon himself, and led him to shut himself up in the retirement of the Oratory, far from all external disturbances. Soon after Manning's consecration, speaking with Church on one occasion, Newman did not conceal his differences from the Archbishop and his policy, nor the effect which it had upon himself, which was to "give up the course of general affairs to Manning and those who went with the current."[1] He had said of himself not long before this: "I am in the most strange way cut off from other people. Out of sight, out of mind, I suppose; but so it is that I know nothing of how things are going on, what there is to do, and who is doing it."

Newman could not but suffer from the way he was checked and hampered in all his undertakings. Who can wonder if, at times, with his impressionable nature, this suffering would even betray itself in bitter expressions or impatient outbursts? Although, owing to the veil of

[1] Letter of Church, June 13, 1865 (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 169, 170).

secrecy which has hitherto shrouded his correspondence as a Catholic from our pious curiosity, we cannot read the secrets of his heart at this time, we do now and then catch glimpses of his sufferings. Thus he writes, in 1864, to his friend Aubrey de Vere:

"To touch on a subject is to be crude and misleading; it is to incur nearly all the censures.

"Already, as it is, I hear murmurs about my book which may give me trouble. This is the main cause I cannot write. I have no wish at my age to be involved in controversy and to spend my strength in self-defence. I think it very hard that I may not write under the antecedent concession that I am a fallible mortal, but that every turn of expression is to be turned into a dogmatic enunciation. Those who thus wish me to talk with the tongues, not of men, but 'of angels,' had better themselves have a little 'charity.'"[1]

Newman had grown so accustomed to these criticisms and suspicions that when his writings were favourably judged he was both surprised and grateful. As an instance of this we give the following letter to a Jesuit, written a few years later, concerning an article in the *Month* on one of his books:

"I wish to thank you for the favourable critique. . . . I have been so bullied all through life for what I have written that I never publish without forebodings of evil. And though I know that, besides the necessary differences of opinion, which ever will be between man and man, there always must be that in what I write which really deserves criticism, yet I am more pleased when people are kind to me than when they are just."[2]

[1] *Aubrey de Vere: A Memoir*, by Wilfrid Ward, pp. 306, 307.

[2] Letter to Father Coleridge, November 5, 1877 (*The "Month" and J. H. Newman*); the *Month*, April, 1890.

Let us give one more quotation. The following letter, so serenely sorrowful in its tone, was written by Newman to another Jesuit who had expressed some sympathy with him in his isolation and forced inaction:

"It is very kind in you to be anxious about me, but, thank God, you have no need. Of course, it is a constant source of sadness to me that I have done so little for Him during a long twenty years; but then I think, and with some comfort, that I have ever tried to act as *others* told me, and if I have not done more it has been because I have not been put to do more, or have been stopped when I attempted more."

He then recalled the different works he had undertaken at the request of his superiors, and in the accomplishment of which he had been checked—the Catholic University of Dublin, the translation of the Bible, the *Rambler*, the foundation of an Oratory at Oxford. He adds:

"In all these matters I think (in spite of many incidental mistakes) I should, on the whole, have done a work, had I been allowed or aided to go on with them; but it has been God's Blessed Will that I should have been stopped. If I could get out of my mind the notion that I *could* do something and am *not* doing it, nothing could be happier, more peaceful, or more to my taste, than the life I lead."

Newman spoke the truth when he expressed his love for a life of silence and retreat. A man of thought, a lover of meditation, more taken up with the inner life than with the outer, with the invisible world than with the visible, he in no wise envied Manning the important part played by the latter before the world. To tell the truth, he was not fitted for it, and those who most lamented the cloud under which he seemed to live never dreamt of regretting that

he was not made a Bishop, nor had a share in the government of the Church. From his earliest youth he had felt himself drawn into a kind of isolation in which his soul was directly in the presence of God. In 1836, shortly after the Tractarian campaign, at the time when he seemed, as it were, most active outwardly, he was writing to a friend: "God intends me to be lonely. He has so framed my mind that I am in a great measure beyond the sympathies of other people, and thrown upon Himself." Passing events were to him as if they were not, and he looked with a sort of indifference upon those which seemed most nearly to concern him. In 1839, while still in the thick of the Tractarian campaign, he wrote: "I cannot realize things enough either to hope or fear. It sometimes comes on me as an alarming thing, almost a sin, that I doubt whether I should grieve though all that has been done melted away like an ice-palace. . . . I wish I lived as much in the unseen world as I think I do not live in this."[1] About the same time he spoke, in one of his sermons—in terms which are evidently a confession of a personal experience—of a Christian as one who perceives "that there are but two beings in the whole universe, our own soul and the God who made it."

With the experience of age, and the greater intensity given to his already strong sense of the presence of God by the full possession of religious truth, and also under the pressure of so many deceptions from without, Newman became more and more convinced that his vocation was to be separated from men, that he might be the more closely united to God, and that, as he loved to repeat, "that for

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of Cardinal Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 197, 279.

him there were but two beings of any consequence, God and himself." It was this which gave such depth and such character to his piety. He lived entirely in the supernatural world, which was, in his eyes, more real than the natural, and, to make use of a familiar expression of his own, he "realized" it. His soul was not only filled by the thought of God and Christ the Redeemer, but he loved to picture around Them the angels with whom he peopled the celestial regions of which he dreamed. It has been justly said of him that these spirits formed as great a part of his visions as of those of the painter of Fiesole.[1] His contemplations embraced also the Saints, and, above all, the Blessed Virgin Mary, of whom he spoke with such burning and tender eloquence in his reply to Pusey's *Eirenicon*, as if to repair the coldness of his Protestant days. Newman was reserved as to what passed in his communion with the invisible world; that is a domain which he has kept more jealously closed than all others to commonplace curiosity. We catch glimpses of these things, however, throughout his writings, and, above all, in his sermons, in which the psychologist can discern more than one page of moral autobiography. Nevertheless, the sermons and other writings of his Protestant days give a very incomplete idea of what his piety blossomed into after his conversion. As an Anglican he was already as deeply and truly religious as he was to appear later, and it would be impossible to conceive a more intense Christian life than that revealed and taught in the Oxford Parochial Sermons. The unmistakable piety which breathes through them is, however, at times a little sad, strained, and anxious, whereas, later on, in the

[1] This admirable comparison has been made by M. Brémond.

full daylight and warmth of Catholicism, this same piety, without losing anything of its depth and seriousness, became more confiding, more expansive, and more tender. It took on a tone infinitely more joyous and abandoned. To get an idea of it, we must have recourse to the little book published after Newman's death by his fellow-Oratorians, under the title *Meditations and Devotions of Cardinal Newman.* It contains fragments and the sketch of a more complete work which he had proposed writing, and which was to have contained prayers and readings appropriate to the different festivals and the seasons of the year. We have come upon his intimate colloquies with God and with Mary, fresh, spontaneous, and vibrating with tender emotion. He seems all on fire with that Divine flame which can never be extinguished. "*O ignis semper ardens et nunquam deficiens!*" he himself exclaims. It is no common experience to find in one so English, so reserved, with a kind of proud shyness which has even been sometimes taken for the traces of Puritanical coldness, all the ardent tenderness and expansiveness of Catholic devotion.

In one whose thoughts are thus occupied there is no room for a commonplace desire for external activity and importance. The life which Newman led in his monastery at Edgbaston, an almost monotonous life of rule and regularity, was, in spite of hostility from without, enveloped in an atmosphere of heavenly peace and serenity. Eye-witnesses of this period have given us an account of it.[1] Newman rose at five o'clock, gave two hours to devotional exercises, and said his Mass a little after seven o'clock.

[1] *Cardinal Newman: The Story of his Life,* by Jennings, p. 132 *et seq.*; *Cardinal Newman,* by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 69 *et seq.*

"His Mass," says one of his biographers, "left an extraordinary impression upon us all. It most certainly was for him until the very end, and in the full force of the words, 'a wonderful solemnity,' as he has said in *Callista*."[1]

About eight o'clock he appeared in the refectory, where he breakfasted in silence, while beginning to look through the voluminous correspondence which lay upon the table. He afterwards retired to his room, which was very poorly furnished, to work, to write his letters, and look after the government of the house. In the afternoon he took one or two hours' walk; even in his old age he remained a good walker. The community had dinner at six o'clock; it was taken in silence, listening to some edifying or instructive reading. Two religious took turns in serving their brethren. Newman never failed to take his turn when it came, and then never seated himself until all had been served. When dinner was over, one had to propose some theological question, upon which all the others, successively, gave their opinions, each ending by the formula, "But I speak under correction." Then they withdrew to the next room, where coffee was served, and they engaged in free conversation. The Superior took his part in it with good grace and a gaiety occasionally enlivened by a happy repartee, mingling reminiscences of the past with forecasts of the future, and all in that musical voice of his which had charmed so many generations. The amiable wisdom of the teachings gathered from these conversations recalled St. Philip Neri, the *amabile santo* so dear to Newman, taking his part in the conversations of his first companions. Chance visitors who had been admitted to these gatherings relate that what struck them most about

[1] *Newman: Essai de Biographie psychologique*, by H. Brémond.

these priests was their "tone, which was altogether English, and the liberality (in the highest sense) of their views." The tender veneration of the community for their Superior was not his least consolation for the injustices he had to bear from without. He himself has spoken of it at the end of his *Apologia*, in words which cannot be read without emotion. "I know hardly anything," writes George Eliot in regard to this, "that delights me more than such evidences of a sweet brotherly love being a reality in the world."

The occupation most dear to Newman's heart in his retirement was the supervision of the secondary school which he had founded near the Oratory, on the model of the great English public schools. Every month he gave an examination to one of the different classes, and at the end of each term he spoke to each pupil in private about his conduct and progress in his studies. Sometimes he took the trouble to give lectures himself to the older boys who were preparing for their University examinations. He was very watchful that all should have a high ideal of honour, and would tolerate nothing low or mean. His principle was to trust his pupils, to avoid all supervision with a tendency to "espionage." In this his intention was to counteract some customs in Catholic education. In 1865 he congratulated himself that his example was taking effect, and that other Catholic schools, even those of the Jesuits, had thus become "less Continental in their ways, and more English."[1] On certain days he came to the College Chapel to give a short sermon, or perhaps only to assist at the offices, giving edification to everyone by his devout behaviour. He also took a great interest in

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 170.

the recreations, and liked the boys to act the plays of Terence, which he adapted for them, and for which he composed eloquent prologues in Latin or English verse. He was never more gay and at his ease than when among these boys. His kindness and goodness won their hearts, while at the same time their imaginations were impressed by his renown. It was not without emotion that they beheld his emaciated profile when he was passing through the corridors or classrooms of the college. "To us," says one of them, "he was the greatest of heroes."[1] This attraction of Newman's for the duties of the schoolmaster, which to some seem so lowly—this solicitude in working personally for the intellectual and moral formation of the rising generation, have also been found in other eminent Christians, not to speak of Anglicans who pride themselves upon Dr. Arnold, the reformer of Rugby School. Does not Newman, in the midst of the Edgbaston scholars, remind us of Lacordaire at the College of Sorrèze, or Mgr. Dupanloup at the Little Seminary of La Chapelle?

V

Prevented as he was from sharing in ecclesiastical government and the external work of the Apostolate, Newman employed the leisure thus given him in sounding the depths of the great problems of religious thought —problems of a so much more universal, lasting, moving, and heart-searching interest than the local events and fleeting controversies on which the public life of Christians so often concentrates its attention. In his

[1] Mr. Arthur Pollen (*Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 69).

Lectures of 1850 and 1851, as in the *Apologia*, he had treated chiefly of the particular difficulties between Anglicanism and Catholicism; he took for granted the principal truths of Revelation, and the argument was confined, in some sort, to the internal aspects of Christianity. But at the time of which we are now speaking he took a wider standpoint, and attacked the difficulties raised by modern philosophy against the very principles of Christianity and of all supernatural religion. This was the aim of that great philosophical work which he published, after years of preparation, at the beginning of 1870, under the title, *An Essay towards a Grammar of Assent.* His idea was to compose a sequel, from a different point of view, to the work begun in 1865 by the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.*

In his *Essay on Development*, Newman, looking towards the future, had tried to solve the historical problems raised by the apparent variations of dogma; but in the present work, searching into the depths of the soul, he studies the way in which this dogma is accepted, and the psychology of the act of faith. In these two works, to which, in spite of their importance, he gives such unpretentious titles, calling them merely *Essays*, he makes no claim to teach *ex professo* a new philosophy or dogma. All he does is to present the men of his own times, who have to meet the same difficulties as himself, with the testimony of his own experience. He explains how he satisfied his own doubts, what answers he found to objections, by what path he himself arrived at truth, and on what supports he at last firmly planted himself. Nothing in him savours of a system borrowed from some school or discovered in some book. Everything is personal; he

has lived it all, so to speak. He asks questions as if no one had ever gone into the philosophy of religion before him, and seeks answers from his own experience. Has he not written somewhere that apologetics are essentially individual, and that he is obliged to be "modestly egotistic"? This mingling of moral autobiography and of individual confession, with studies of religious history or psychology, gives to the work a tone of deeper life and feeling, and we catch glimpses, behind these general facts and abstract ideas, of the trials, the struggles, the victories, and the progress of a soul.

The problem of Belief had always interested Newman. He had often touched upon it in preaching, and chiefly in his University sermons. But that was not enough; he had been meditating a work in which, by uniting all his observations, he could deduce a complete theory of faith. Several times he had begun, and had had to stop before difficulties which he was unable to overcome, without, at the same time, renouncing an undertaking which seemed to him a response to a call from on high. The idea weighed upon him, as he said, like an "incubus." In the years before 1870 he set about the task once more, with a firmer resolution to carry it through. In order to secure better work, he frequently retired to Rednal, the country house of the Oratorians, some miles from Birmingham, where he remained in absolute seclusion and solitude, alone with his thoughts. Thus, by degrees, he succeeded in starting his work; but what a task it was! Here there was none of that impetuous facility with which, under the impulse of the blow he had received, he had, in a few weeks, improvised the *Apologia*. This time, on the contrary, as he himself acknowledges, "he

was obliged to write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and interlinear additions."

This laborious travail was not exceptional with Newman. In reply to a letter of Ward's, written a few years before, in which the latter had spoken of the "keen and constant pleasure which intellectual processes afford," he writes:

"I am far from denying that there is a pleasure, and one providentially assigned, as pleasant flavour to food; but if you mean that 'keen and constant pleasure' ordinarily attends on 'intellectual processes,' well, let them say so who feel it. My own personal experience is the other way. It is one of my sayings (so continually do I feel it) that the composition of a volume is like gestation or childbirth. I do not think that I ever thought out a question or wrote my thoughts without great pain—pain reaching to the body as well as to the mind. It has made me practically feel that labour *in sudore vultus ejus* is the lot of man. . . . It has been emphatically a *penance*. And in consequence, I have hardly written anything unless I was called to do so. When I wrote my book on the Arians I was so exhausted at length that for some days, as it approached finishing, I could scarcely keep from fainting."[1]

But let it be well understood, the suffering of which Newman speaks is not that which artists have sometimes endured in striving after their ideal. This man, whose writings have placed him in the first rank among English authors, never sought after literary excellence for its own sake. "I may truly say," are his own words, "that I never have been in the practice, since I was a boy, of attempting to write well or to form an elegant style. I think I have never written for writing's sake." The source of his suffering was very different; it arose from

[1] Letter of March 15, 1862 (*William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*, by Wilfrid Ward, p. 198).

the intense labour and anxiety of his mind in presence of the problems on which he felt that the life of souls depended.

The *Grammar of Assent* bears traces of the weariness of many revisions which it cost the author. To judge by foreign ideas of rhythm, clearness, and arrangement, this book is badly written, difficult to follow and understand. But if we can overlook these defects, we shall discover in it a wealth of powerful and original thoughts, albeit at times heaped up in some confusion. Never was there so complete an analysis of the act of faith, or, indeed, of the science of thought in general, of the attitude of the intellect in presence of some given proposition. This searching analysis, sometimes even startling in its boldness, reminds one of Pascal. To judge by the way in which the author at once sets aside all that he finds fragile in the foundations upon which other logicians had been accustomed to build up their beliefs; to see how clearly he demonstrates the powerlessness of reasoned-out logic in such matters, even though, in another order of ideas, it may bring conviction, between which conviction and the act of faith he so lucidly distinguishes, one might almost have anxiously asked whether he would not end in utter scepticism, and justify those who, like the agnostic Huxley, claimed to draw from his works a "manual of incredulity." But one very quickly finds that, in place of the foundations discarded as unsound, he brings forward others. His keen-sighted analysis discovers in the mind, and above all in the heart, faculties quite distinct from reason by which man attains to faith. Faith is to him a moral certitude, in which all our being has a share, and thus he finds in it something

more real and living than a purely abstract conviction. For this new psychology of his he invents a new vocabulary, which it would be difficult indeed to translate into a foreign tongue. At the conclusion of the analysis he ends, not in scepticism, but in a faith so certain of itself, a dogmatism so absolute, that he somewhere calls it "a firm and unbounded confidence" in revealed truths.

So deep and complex a theory of philosophy, which is, moreover, at times most subtle, demands more than this passing mention in order to be fully understood and appreciated. I confess that I am here unable to do justice to it. Those who wish to study it should have recourse to the special works on the subject.[1] Suffice it to say that this book was one which required time to take hold of the mind of the religious world. Its first effect was to surprise, bewilder, and even startle minds accustomed to support their faith on very different ideas. If Ward, in spite of his habitual prejudices against the author, hailed the *Grammar* as "the foundation of the religious philosophy of the future," many openly criticized it as opposed to traditional teaching; others, not knowing what to think, suspended their judgment. By foreigners the work was at first almost completely ignored. Newman was not surprised at this; he had modestly asked himself, when presenting his book to the public, whether he "had added anything to the difficult subject of which I have treated, or have left it more confused than I found it."[2] He therefore took the line of not replying to criticism,

[1] See the study, by the Abbé Brémond, in the collection of *La Pensée Chrétienne*, under the title *Newman: Psychologie de la Foi;* and in the Abbé Dimnet's book, *Pensée Catholique dans l'Angleterre Contemporaire*, introduction and chap. iii.

[2] Letter to Father Coleridge of March 13, 1870.

"waiting patiently . . . for Time, the Father of Truth, to judge between him and his adversaries." He waited, too, with some confidence. "Father Mazio," he added, "said of my *Development*, 'I do not know how it is, but so it is, that all these startling things Mr. Newman brings round in the end to a happy conclusion.' . . . I do not mean . . . to be audacious, but somehow now, at the end of life, I have from experience a confidence in myself."

This confidence was not mistaken. The ideas which were so startling on their first appearance gradually made their way. This does not by any means imply that the book contains a complete system, fit to be authoritatively taught to all sorts of minds, and bringing a solution to all religious problems. Newman had no such pretensions; he only stated what had satisfied his own mind. But, while doing this, he found that he had opened up new vistas of thought, and led the way to new paths, where many restless, troubled minds, and those, too, not the least subtle or open to the ideas of the present day, still find means of being freed from their doubts and of strengthening their faith. Thus, many of the Christian philosophers of the present day study the *Grammar of Assent*, and try to possess themselves of its leading ideas. They seem to find in it, as in the *Essay on Development*, one of the elements of that New Apologetics which is now acknowledged to be needed in order to meet new attacks on the faith. Newman henceforward appears in a new light. He is no longer merely the originator of that fertile Oxford Movement which has given new life to the Catholic element lying buried in the Anglican Church, but the great convert who, by his teaching and example, has pointed out to so many noble souls the way back to the true Church;

he is, besides, the founder of a religious philosophy to which many minds, in our days, look to find an answer to the objections and disquiet of modern thought. Without depreciating the merit of the first work of his life, we may ask if the second does not reveal a genius of the first order, if it does not embrace a wider field, if it does not concern, not England only, but the whole world. May we not even hope to find in it, not only the remedy of a past crisis, but a solution of the problems of the future?

From time to time during the laborious composition of his theological or philosophical works the nature of the poet, so strong in Newman, which so often shows itself even in his most austere sermons, would break forth into song, as though to recreate itself amid such severe toils. Thus, in the past, many short poems, exquisite in form, always deeply religious in tone, springing as it were from the depths of his soul, had been collected and published anonymously.[1] In 1854, while plunged in the worries and disappointments of the rectorship of the Catholic University of Dublin, some similar emotion had led him to compose the religious romance known as *Callista*. In this book he brings before us, with as much delicacy of analysis as power of imagination, the moral crisis caused in souls, in the family and in society, by the encounter of rising Christianity with the decline of Paganism in the third century. Eleven years later, in the midst of the suffering caused by the suspicions of which he felt himself the centre, and the painful efforts which the preparation of his great philosophical work cost him, he composed the

[1] *Verses on Religious Subjects* (anonymous), 1853; *Verses for Penitents* (anonymous), 1860; *Verses on Various Occasions*, published successively in 1868, 1874, and 1880.

greatest and most beautiful of his poems, one of the masterpieces of nineteenth-century English poetry, *The Dream of Gerontius*. He wrote it with ease, almost without erasures. He himself has contrasted the sufferings caused by the composition of his doctrinal works with the pleasure and facility with which he wrote verses. He attached so little importance to these poetic recreations that as soon as it was written he threw *The Dream of Gerontius* into the waste-paper basket. It would have been lost for ever if a friend had not discovered it by chance, and had not prevailed upon him to publish it anonymously, in 1865, in a review, and the following year in a separate volume, to which his name was prefixed.

This poem is original and powerful. Like all his works, it is exclusively religious in thought, a work of deep faith, of a man whose imagination is steeped in supernatural realities. The idea of it came to Newman at the bedside of a dying friend. Gerontius is in his agony; the poet first brings before us his thoughts in the presence of Death. He then lifts for us the veil of that mystery even more impenetrable to the gaze of man than the death agony—that mystery of what follows immediately after death, when the soul, separated from the body, finds itself, as it were, midway between time and eternity; he follows the soul to its entrance into Purgatory, amid scenes crowded with angels and demons, mingling the bliss of heaven with the horrors of hell, in a drama of the other world. He moves in this supernatural world like another Dante, but a Dante more detached from earthly influences, more exclusively absorbed in the contemplation of the things above. The success of this poem, though so great on its first appearance, has gone on increasing in England.

A distinguished musician has made it the subject of an oratorio. What the author himself was most concerned about was the impression it might make upon souls. Towards the end of his life he learnt, with emotion, that Gordon, while shut up at Khartoum, preparing himself, in a spirit of patriotic self-surrender, to make the sacrifice of his life, had, during this heroic death-vigil, sought refreshment for his soul in *The Dream of Gerontius*, and that his copy, all scored with pencil-lines at the passages which had most appealed to him, was still kept as a pious relic by one of his friends.

CHAPTER VII

BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE VATICAN COUNCIL

I. Convocation of the Council—The two opposing schools—They exist in England—Newman's attitude—His relations with Ward—His letter to Bishop Ullathorne. II. Pusey and the Council—He has further correspondence with the French Bishops—What Newman thinks of this step—Favourite attitude of Mgr. Darboy and Mgr. Dupanloup—Père de Buck—Pusey is discouraged by the news from Rome, and by the state of mind of his co-religionists—The second *Eirenicon* and the third—Pusey refuses to go to Rome, and decides not to send propositions. III. The early labours of the Council—Important part played by Manning—The proclamation of infallibility—Impression made on Pusey. IV. Reception given in Europe to the decision of the Council—Attitude of the English Catholics—English Protestants enter into relations with the "Old Catholics" and with the schismatic Churches of the East. V. Lord John Russell and the meeting in favour of the *Kultur Kampf*—Gladstone and his pamphlet against the Vatican decrees—What was his design?—How was he led to write the pamphlet? VI. Catholic replies—Manning's letter and pamphlet. VII. Newman decides to intervene—His *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*—Great success of the *Letter*—How it is appreciated by Catholics—Attitude of Pius IX. VIII. Gladstone's further pamphlets—His excitement—What was the result of all the uproar?

I

ON June 26, 1867, in the presence of five hundred Bishops assembled at Rome for the eighteenth centenary of St. Peter, Pius IX. announced "his long-cherished design of calling an Ecumenical Council." One year afterwards the Bull convoking the assembly

was solemnly addressed from the gate of the Vatican Basilica. The history of the Council is not part of my subject, and therefore I need not relate it; still less do I wish to retrace here the burning and often painful controversies which divided men of equal faith and attachment to the Church. The Council has authoritatively decided upon the questions then debated; if it has condemned those who disputed the opportuneness of certain decisions, it has not by so doing justified the most vehement of their opponents; if it proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope, it clearly marked out the conditions and limitations. At any rate, its decisions are binding upon all Catholics, and therefore the former controversies should no longer find place among them. I am solely concerned with the religious movement of England. Certain difficulties sprang from religious and social conditions, from the habits of mind of the Anglo-Saxon world, which were not to be met with in the same degree among the Latin races. In considering these events from this point of view, we shall come to understand how it was that dissensions arose among Catholics who were equally faithful, and we shall find, perhaps, that there was less opposition as to doctrine than divergency of opinion as to the expediency of the Papal definition. Some, from the habitual trend of their views and their immediate surroundings, seemed to consider chiefly those parts of the religious world in which Catholic faith was predominant, and uninfluenced by, and even ignorant of, the exigencies of modern thought; they felt it their duty, in deference to these enthusiastic believers, to stand on decisive dogmatic pronouncements, which would console their piety and kindle their zeal.

Others, of a different turn of mind, and influenced by other surroundings, were more in touch with the troubled consciences and restless minds of the modern world. They were full of solicitude for souls hovering on the borders of Catholicism, and chiefly for those who, though still Anglican, were wistful to be reconciled with the true Church, and they feared to see them repelled and led farther astray. Whatever we may think of the legitimacy of these anxieties, we cannot but recognize that they sprang from noble motives, that they were inspired by the love of souls; and if the language of this party was not always free from bitterness, if the keenness of their controversy sometimes appeared to pass the bounds of moderation, we must attribute this to the anguish of that apostolic solicitude. We must keep these considerations well in mind if we would judge impartially (as is more possible at this distance of time) divergencies which, at that period, roused so much hostility and misunderstanding. When we have grasped the facts which I am about to relate, it seems to me that it will be easier to be impartial.

When the Council was called, the school which for some time had seemed to predominate in the Church, and which had congratulated itself on the blow given to "Liberalism" by the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* and by the *Syllabus*, soon showed what it expected. An article was published on the subject on February 6, 1869, in the Jesuits' organ, *Civiltà Cattolica*, which was supposed to be representative of the influences predominating at Rome. The desire was expressed that the Council should be "very short"; the majority should so arrange that the minority, in spite of its eloquence, could not keep up a long opposition; they hoped "that the doctrines of the

Syllabus would be promulgated by a declaration in affirmative formulas of the propositions which had been there set forth in a negative form; that it would decree the dogmatic infallibility of the Pope, and even that 'the unanimous manifestation of the Holy Spirit by the mouth of the Fathers of the Council would establish this dogma by acclamation'; and, finally, that it would promulgate the dogma of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin." This rallying-cry, which seemed to emanate from high quarters, was the signal of a campaign led with enthusiasm by the most widely-read Catholic newspapers. They seemed to aim at bringing about a sort of plebiscite manifestation by exciting public opinion beforehand on the questions that the Council was supposed to solve. The moderation and precision usual to professional theologians were unknown to these newspaper dogmatists. In their mind, or at least in their language, infallibility appeared to extend to every word uttered by the Pope, and even at times to be confounded with inspiration and impeccability. No expression seemed to them too strong to exalt the authority of the Pope, and they even went so far as to transform the prayers of the Liturgy, applying to the Pope what is there said of God.[1] All this was accompanied by excommunications against those who were supposed to be rebellious or even tepid, against the "Liberals," who were denounced as the worst heretics of the times. These exaggerations were met by others of the opposite tendency. They reached their highest expression in a book published in Germany under the title *The Pope and the Council.* The author, who signed him-

[1] Thus they made a kind of transposition of strophes in the *Veni Sancte Spiritus,* in which Pius IX. was substituted for the Holy Ghost.

self "Janus," evidently wrote under the influence of Döllinger. Not content with disputing the Pope's infallibility, he scouted his authority with the sarcastic bitterness of an enemy. Between these two violent extremes, the moderate party, as is always the case, had difficulty in getting a hearing, being slighted and ill-treated by both. These controversies found partisans also among the English Catholics, where the same extreme parties existed. Ward, of whose ideas on this subject I have already had occasion to speak, took the side of the most ardent adherents of infallibility. He wished it to be unlimited, and to extend even to the Pope's minutest directions; he refused to theologians the right to discuss and interpret the sense and range of any act of the Sovereign Pontiff, and denounced all who hesitated to follow him as "minimisers" and "disloyal to the Holy See."[1] Manning, with less heat and more dignity, associated himself with this campaign, being more concerned about spreading infallibility than about marking out its limits. On the opposite side, the ideas of the German school of anti-infallibility found supporters in England in the former editors of the *Rambler*. As their review had been suppressed, they had recourse to other modes of expression. Oxenham wrote sarcastic letters in the newspapers against the spirit prevailing among the ecclesiastical authorities. Sir John Acton published in the *North British Review* a favourable notice of the book by "Janus." Not content with disputing the question of infallibility, he attacked the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and even criticized the

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, chap. x.

Council of Trent, the decrees of which he hoped would be improved upon by the new Council.

Newman kept an intermediate attitude between the two schools; this course he had hitherto adopted during the whole controversy on liberal Catholicism. He did not approve of either the tone or the ideas of Acton and his friends. Since his conversion he had several times spoken in favour of the infallibility of the Pope, but he advocated an infallibility exercised under strictly defined conditions. He had no leaning for the unlimited infallibility by which some seemed to take pleasure in irritating and shocking public opinion. The programme which the *Civiltà* would have imposed upon the Council seemed to him inadmissible. He did not conceal this from the English Jesuits, among whom he numbered several friends. To Ward, who had tried to induce him to take part in the campaign for infallibility, he replied on February 18, 1866: "As to writing a volume on the Pope's infallibility, it never so much as entered into my thought. I am a controversialist, not a theologian, and I should have nothing to say about it. I have ever thought it likely to be true, never thought it certain. I think, too, its definition inexpedient and unlikely; but I should have no difficulty in accepting it were it made. And I don't think my reason will ever go forward or backward in the matter."[1] "Besides," he says, "the thing we have to be anxious about is not that there should be no definition, but what the definition will be."[2] To Pusey, who seemed anxious on the subject, he explained "that it is impossible that there would not be the most careful

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 322.
[2] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 244.

conditions determining what is *ex cathedra*," and that "it would add very little to the present received belief."[1] What appeared to him as lamentable was the facility with which some fulminated excommunications on all those who did not agree with them. Differences of opinion, he thought, were only natural; but he opposed their exaggeration, and wrote to Ward as follows:

"Father Ryder has shown me your letter, in which you speak of me; and though I know that to remark on what you say will be as ineffectual now in making you understand me as so many times in the last fifteen years, yet, at least, as a protest in memoriam, I will, on the occasion of this letter and of your letter to myself, make a fresh attempt to explain myself. Let me observe, then, that in former years, *and now*, I have considered the theological differences between us as unimportant in themselves—that is, such as to be simply compatible with a reception both by you and by me of the whole theological teaching of the Church in the widest sense of the word 'teaching'; and again, now, and in former years too, I have considered one phenomenon in you to be 'momentous'—nay, portentous—that you will persist in calling the said unimportant, allowable, inevitable differences, which must occur between mind and mind, not unimportant, but of great moment. In this utterly uncatholic, not so much opinion, as feeling and sentiment, you have grown in the course of years, whereas I consider that I remain myself in the same temper of forbearance and sobriety which I have ever wished to cultivate. . . . Pardon me if I say that you are making a Church within a Church, as the Novatians of old did within the Catholic pale, and as, outside the Catholic pale, the Evangelicals of the Establishment. . . . I protest, then, again, not against your tenets, but against what I must call your schismatical spirit . . . and I pray God that I may never denounce, as you do, what the Church has not denounced."[2]

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 128.

[2] Letter of May 9, 1867 (*W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 266, 267).

Ward was far from being insensible to blame from his former master. "Well," he said, on a similar occasion, "I must take a double dose of chloral to-night if I am to sleep, after such a letter as this."[1] Yet he was none the less positive in controversy. It was not that he had any natural attraction for newspaper contests. On the contrary, he often said: "Many people look on me as a kind of theological gladiator who delights in fighting. . . . They little know what a coward I am, and how I hate fighting. . . ." Still less was he influenced in these matters by personal animosity. In all sincerity he wrote to Mr. Monsell, one of Newman's friends: "Pray believe how sincerely I respect you and many others whom I regard as grievous enemies of the Church, most unintentionally; and in particular how undying are my gratitude and affection towards the illustrious leader of your formidable and dangerous band." He feared that his former master "might naturally have much difficulty in believing in" the sincerity of these protestations. But Newman did, in some measure, appreciate this singular mixture of feelings, and some years later, while recalling all that Ward had done to oppose him, he wrote: "I have not a word to say against him. He has ever in feeling been kinder to me than I to him. . . . He is thoroughly honest. . . . He says out all that he thinks; and in the mildest and most affectionate manner would call me an unmistakable heretic."[2]

However distasteful to Newman were the exaggerations of the ultra-infallibilists, he never thought of taking part in the public controversy. In his stead, Father Dudley

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 27.
[2] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 226-228.

Ryder, one of the Fathers, and subsequently Superior, of the Edgbaston Oratory, published, in 1867, a serious criticism of Ward's exaggerated views on Papal Encyclicals. Newman himself sent it to Ward, declaring that he entirely agreed with the author: "Now that my own time is drawing to an end," he wrote, "I rejoice in believing that the new generation will not forget the spirit of the old maxim in which I have ever wished to speak and act myself: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas.*"[1] But as the time of the Council actually drew near, Newman's plan of a middle course seemed to have but little chance. Manning, in whom Pius IX. placed an ever-increasing confidence, took an important part in the preliminaries of the Council, while Newman was left out. A rumour was at first spread that the Holy Father would invite him to come to Rome in the capacity of "consultor," which prevented any of the English Bishops electing him as their consultor. If the Pope had ever had such an intention, the prejudices against Newman at Rome would have hindered him from carrying it into effect. Mgr. Dupanloup then proposed that Newman should go to the Council as his theologian, but he declined this proposal, which he felt would be displeasing to Pius IX. He remained isolated, powerless, inactive, saddened by the suspicions which surrounded him, anxious as to the evil which might come to the Church by the exaggerated views (as they appeared to him) which were now in favour. Always full of deference for religious authority, he would take no steps to remove the cloud which appeared to hang over him, and no more now than in the past would he take part in the controversy; he scrupled to add to the

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 320.

agitation of mind and the troubles of conscience which already existed. Once, however, when more than usually moved by certain exaggerations, he could not help opening his heart about them in a confidential letter to his Bishop, Dr. Ullathorne, a supporter of infallibility, but a wise, moderate, and thoughtful man, who would have nothing to do with extreme views, and only desired a carefully defined infallibility, such as would naturally have been the result of the deliberations of a Council. Convinced that a communication of so intimate a nature would not transpire, Newman thought that he might express himself freely to his Bishop. But by some culpable indiscretion the letter appeared in the newspapers, and thus gave rise to an interpretation which completely misrepresented the attitude of its author.

"Rome ought to be a name to lighten the heart at all times, and a Council's proper office is, when some great heresy or other evil impends, to inspire hope and confidence in the Faithful; but now we have the greatest meeting which ever has been seen, and that at Rome, infusing into us by the accredited organs of Rome and its partisans . . . little else than fear or dismay. When we are all at rest, and have no doubts, and—at least practically, not to say doctrinally—hold the Holy Father to be infallible, suddenly there is thunder in the clear sky, and we are told to prepare for something, we know not what, to try our faith, we know not how. No impending danger is to be averted, but a great difficulty is to be created. Is this the proper work of an Ecumenical Council?

"As to myself, personally, please God, I do not expect any trial at all; but I cannot help suffering with the many souls who are suffering, and I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my private judgment, but may be most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts.

"What have we done to be treated as the Faithful

never were treated before? When has a definition *de fide* been a luxury of devotion, and not a stern, painful necessity? Why should an aggressive, insolent faction be allowed 'to make the heart of the just sad, whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful'? Why cannot we be let alone, when we have pursued peace and thought no evil?

"I assure you, my Lord, some of the truest minds are driven one way and another, and do not know where to rest their feet—one day determining 'to give up all theology as a bad job,' and recklessly to believe henceforth almost that the Pope is impeccable; at another, tempted to 'believe all the worst which a book like *Janus* says. . . .'

"And then, again, the blight which is following upon the multitude of Anglicans, Ritualists, etc., who themselves, perhaps—at least, their leaders—may never become Catholics, but who are leavening the various English denominations and parties (far beyond their own range) with principles and sentiments tending towards their ultimate absorption into the Catholic Church.

"With these thoughts ever before me, I am continually asking myself whether I ought not to make my feelings public, but all I do is to pray those early doctors of the Church whose intercession would decide the matter—Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome, Athanasius, Chrysostom and Basil—to avert the great calamity. If it is God's will that the Pope's infallibility is defined, then it is God's will to throw back 'the times and moments' of that triumph which He has destined for His kingdom, and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to His adorable, inscrutable Providence."

The controversialists of the extreme party naturally made capital out of this incident, manufacturing a rebellion out of what was merely the confidence of a troubled mind to its Bishop. As for Newman himself, he was much displeased to see what he called later on, in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, "one of the most confidential letters which he had ever written in his life" made public property. He added that he could not understand how it had ever got into print, and if he had not been able

to prevent what he considered a kind of treason, he declared that he withdrew the document as far as he could by declaring "that it was never meant for the public eye."

II

It will have been noticed that Newman reckoned the Anglicans who aimed at a reconciliation with Catholicism among those for whom he yearned with such keen and ardent longing, as his letter to Mgr. Ullathorne shows. He was evidently alluding to the controversy of the *Eirenicon*, in which he had taken part—not that he was under any delusion as to the immediate success of the enterprise, such as it had been conceived, nor that he had any hope of withdrawing his old friend Pusey from the Church to which the latter so tenaciously clung; but that he thought prudence and charity alike commanded him to avoid carefully all that might alienate Pusey, or others unknown to him, who might be less difficult to convert, and who might have been shaken by this movement. He knew, moreover, from Pusey's letters, that the latter had not allowed himself to be discouraged by the unpromising reception he had met with from some Catholics, any more than by the attacks of those Protestants who put up placards in the streets accusing him of a "plot to deliver up England to the Pope." On the contrary, he persisted in his plans, and even hoped to find in the Council the possible instrument of the long-desired Reunion.

From the very first, Pusey attached great importance to the Council. He wrote thus to his friend Liddon: "What an absorbing and anxious move this is of the Pope's! It throws every other anxiety into the shade."[1]

[1] Letter of October 6, 1868 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 161).

It seemed to him to promise sufficient grounds for renewing negotiations with those among the French Bishops who had given him the best reception after his first *Eirenicon* and especially Mgr. Dupanloup and Mgr. Darboy. "I loved him much," he wrote of the former; "he is so marvellously sweet and tender, although possibly not with the political (I do not mean secular) grasp of the Archbishop of Paris." At first sight it may seem that the simplest course for Pusey would have been to address himself to his fellow-countrymen, the Catholic Bishops of England; but he distrusted them. Above all, he knew he had nothing to hope for from Manning, "who," as he said, "appeals to God to avert such an evil as he thinks 'organic reunion' to be." From this point of view he regretted Cardinal Wiseman: "If we had him now," he added, "a great deal might be done in England." His plan appears to have been to draw up proposals containing the maximum of concessions that the Anglicans were prepared to make, and to prevail upon Rome to examine if the Reunion could be established on that basis.

Newman encouraged him, but disapproved of this plan of making terms. "You must not suppose," he wrote "that I could myself ever have been induced so to act I should say to myself, 'The Roman Communion is either the Church, or it is not; if it is not, don't seek to join it; if it is, don't bargain with it—beggars must not be choosers.'" Nevertheless, he thought it well that the preliminaries should be continued, and that all that had to be said should be said without reserve; he was confident that thus the cause of truth would be furthered But he warned Pusey that in order to expect an answer from Rome he should hold out a definite result, in case the

answer were favourable. His proposals should be presented in the name of a number of Anglicans of note, Bishops and clergymen, with the assurance that in case their petition was granted those who had signed their names would be ready to enter the Catholic Church; because otherwise, if it were only a question of an individual consultation, it would not even be looked at. Besides, Newman, who was well aware where the chief difficulty lay, insisted that there was "a first principle, which no one can hope to put aside, that the Pope is the centre of unity *totius Ecclesiæ caput et omnium christianorum pater et doctor*, and that he has a universal jurisdiction."[1]

Pusey did not regard the matter in this light. He well knew that he had not at his disposal a group of Anglicans ready to present and sign these propositions together with him, still less were they inclined to promise submission beforehand in case they should be favourably received. He himself would have refused any steps implying an eventual departure from the Anglican Church. His idea was that the propositions should be presented to Rome *in abstracto* without naming or compromising anyone. He would reserve to himself the right of making the answer known or not to his co-religionists, if it were favourable, and he merely hoped that it would dispose them to reconciliation. He did not wish to present the propositions as the conditions under which he and his friends "would individually join the Roman Church," but he indicated his desire to be able to tell his co-religionists "what they would be obliged to believe as articles of faith." For his own part, he absolutely denied that he was not perfectly

[1] Letters from Newman to Pusey of July 21, August 4 and 9, 1867, and September 4, 1868 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 148, 152, 154).

at ease in his own Church, and that he felt any need urging him to join the Church of Rome. He wrote to Newman:

"My feeling is just the same as yours. If I believed the Roman Church to be *the* Church, I should not dream of making an inquiry or a condition. I should submit as a little child. . . . I feel no individual need to be in union with Rome, but I do feel the evils of division. . . I should have been glad to say to the English people, 'On such terms the division might be ended. You dread this and that; but you see that all which you need accept, all which is practically required of you, is to believe this and that. Look at it and see whether you object to it.'"

He maintained the same views to Mgr. Dupanloup and to Liddon, and thus reassured those who, like the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, had heard that he entertained doubts as to the Church of England.[1]

However sincere his desire for union may have been it was not of a nature to satisfy Catholics. At bottom Pusey's ideal was an intercommunion between two self-governing Churches, which, treating with each other as two equal powers, would unite in a kind of confederation. Acting on such a basis, a happy conclusion was impossible. Newman realized this; he did not hide from Pusey "the unsurmountable difficulties—that is, at present unsurmountable"—which the latter would meet with, and, to give an example of the difficulties, he said to him: "*e.g.* you can't belong to two Communions at once; but if you cannot promise in the name and for the Church of Eng

[1] Letters from Pusey to Newman, eve of St. James, 1867, and September, 1868; letters of Pusey to Liddon, October 6, 1868, and March 24, 1869 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 150, 157, 159, 175); letter from Pusey to Mackonochie, August 5, 1867 (*A. H. Mackonochie A Memoir*, p. 196).

land, how can you be in communion with Rome without separating from the Anglican Church, how in communion with the latter without coming short of the former?" Newman would, however, have scrupled to discourage Pusey, and he offered to continue to give him all the information which might be useful to him.[1]

In spite of all that was insufficient or defective in Pusey's attitude from a Catholic point of view, Mgr. Darboy and Mgr. Dupanloup, anxious not to repel a man of good-will, who was at least sincere, and not let any chance of reunion, however feeble, escape, always showed themselves disposed to give help. They offered to present the propositions to Rome in the way Pusey meant, *in abstracto* without naming anyone, and to secure that they should be examined there. The Bishop of Orleans declared this to a friend and confidant of Pusey's, Forbes, Bishop of Brechin,[2] who had just published a bulky treatise on the Catholic interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. On his side, the Archbishop of Paris wrote to the same Bishop Forbes, on March 21, 1868:

"There does not seem to me to be any difficulty in obtaining what you speak of in your letter—viz., that a Roman Congregation should pronounce upon the doctrinal value of the propositions which will be submitted to it, and which would represent the *maximum* of the concessions possible to you. If it would be of any assistance to you, I would undertake to bring the matter very discreetly to a satisfactory end, and to obtain for you an authentic answer. See if you can draw up, from your point of view, the propositions, and address them to me; I will present them in my own name and without saying anything which

[1] Letter from Newman to Pusey, September 4, 1868 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 156).

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 156.

might cause it to be thought that you or yours had anything to do with it, and I will be happy to transmit to you the decision which shall be given to me."[1]

Very soon, at the beginning of 1869, a new intermediary spontaneously offered himself, Père de Buck, a Jesuit Bollandist, who had favourably reviewed the *Eirenicon* in the *Études Religieuses* on its publication. In thanking Bishop Forbes for his book, he urged him to send the propositions to be submitted to the Pontifical Congregations; he even advised the authors of the propositions to go to Rome, and held out to them hopes of the best reception. He impressed upon them "the important fact that one of the motives for calling the Council was to try and bring about a reconciliation with the High Church of England." His optimism was not unmixed with delusion, and his usually sound and critical judgment seems to have forsaken him when he related that the "moderate" party preponderated among the councillors of the Holy See, that Mgr. Dupanloup exercised a great influence there, and that a definition of infallibility need not be expected. According to him, the Anglicans could obtain reunion under the following conditions: Conditional reordination of their priests, communion under the two species, the preservation of the Prayer-Book with a small number of doctrinal modifications, permission for married clerics to keep their wives, an agreement as to the minimum of doctrines regarding the cult of the Blessed Virgin, and a possible condemnation of certain excessive developments of this cult. Père de Buck went to Rome in person, opened his heart to the General of his Society, and presented to Cardinal Bilio, in June, 1869, a confidential memorial, in which, without

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 156.

mentioning any names, he made known the dispositions of those whom he designated under the appellations of *Episcopus Z. et doctores Oxonienses*, and suggested the measures to be taken. In the account of this journey which he gave to Bishop Forbes, he declared that he was astonished how favourably the news he brought was received in Rome. He therefore urgently recommended the Anglicans to make known their propositions. But his communications with Cardinal Bilio did not seem to have had much effect. On November 17, 1869, a decree from the Holy Office ordered the General of the Jesuits to command Père de Buck to withdraw altogether from the course he was taking to bring about a conciliation with some Anglican heretics. Whether this decision took some time to reach the Reverend Father or not we do not know, but in December of the same year we find him still urging Bishop Forbes to come to Rome with his friends, and assuring him that he had taken all possible measures to secure him a good reception.[1]

Why, then, did Pusey still hesitate to draw up the propositions asked of him? It would seem that when the time came to carry out the plan conceived by himself he had some doubts. He was perplexed by the accounts which he received as to the preliminaries of the Council. His friend Forbes, who, at his suggestion, had gone to Rome in the spring of 1868, immediately after the publication of his work on the Thirty-nine Articles, came back "utterly discouraged," and reported that "Ultramontanism" prevailed everywhere, even in the quarters

[1] On this matter of the intervention of Père de Buck we have only English sources of information, as in the case of the negotiations of Pusey with Mgr. Darboy and Mgr. Dupanloup (see *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 173-186).

where hitherto it had met with the greatest opposition. At the end of the same year Pusey's apprehensions increased, when he discovered under what conditions the invitations to the Council were issued. To the Bull calling together the Patriarchs, Bishops, and others having rights to sit in the Ecumenical Assembly, the Pope joined two distinct acts: in the first place, an appeal to the Oriental Bishops "who are not in communion with the Apostolic See"; and, secondly, a letter addressed *omnibus protestantibus, aliisque acatholicis*, whom he does not invite to the Council, but whom he presses to join "the one true flock." Pusey ascertained thus, not without some bitterness, that the Anglican Bishops were not even classed in the same rank as the schismatical Bishops of the East, but were disdainfully confounded with the mass of *acatholici*. This, in his eyes, was a sign that Rome denied their claim to Apostolic Succession, which in itself was enough to ruin all hopes of Corporate Reunion. Even the conditions held out to him by the most optimistic of the intermediaries, Père de Buck, were far from satisfactory to him. They spoke of "conditional reordination." "That," he said, "would suffice for us individually; but we should, at the same time, be throwing (as we are satisfied) an unmerited and perplexing slur on all our past priestly acts, and on all besides in our Communion. It would be an admission on our part that everything is doubtful . . . to have to act as if we had been no priests, or as if very possibly we had been no priests, while consecrating and absolving and teaching our people that we had the power from Christ to consecrate and absolve."

The difficulties which held Pusey back did not arise

from the dispositions of the Catholics alone; they came also from his own co-religionists. He himself, when enumerating the obstacles in his path, includes among them "the ultra-Protestant storm" which then raged in his Church. He alludes to the violent attacks and judicial persecutions which were then beginning against the Ritualists, who were accused of "Romanizing" the Established Church. In spite of the firmness with which he had been accustomed to confess his Catholic faith, he was nevertheless somewhat embarrassed at being caught, at a time when public opinion was in such a ferment, in the very act of negotiations with Rome; the more so that until then he had been most careful to keep all his undertakings a secret, having confided them to none but Keble,[1] and after his death to Forbes and Liddon. Now it seemed to him, when the time came to put his propositions into words, that the matter was by no means so easy as he had thought. Was it possible to find formulas which would be accepted by both sides? Who among the Anglicans would follow him? He had to bring home to himself the fact that no one had as yet authorized him to speak in their name. "The primary difficulty," he wrote to one of his friends, "is that we represent no definite body; we represent a large X, which might in time and ultimately be gained."[2] He hesitated to stake everything on an uncertain hope. All these motives, together with the news from Rome, contributed to his delays.

In the spring of 1869, in default of the propositions, which he at last decided not to send, Pusey published a

[1] Letter to Liddon, October 6, 1868 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 161).
[2] Letter of July 17, 1869 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 181).

second *Eirenicon* under the form of a *First Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman.* He had been engaged upon it for a long time, but he had put off publishing it, as he said, on account of the excited state of public opinion among Protestants, and of the disdain with which Catholics had received his first *Eirenicon.* This second publication, which only renewed the criticisms against the cult of Mary, and especially against the dogma of her Immaculate Conception, had no better chance of being received among Catholics. Newman made no secret of this. "I should not be acting as a friend," he wrote to him, "if I did not say that I have not found anyone (I think) who has not been repelled by what has been thought your hostile tone. . . . Men seem to think that you are not really seeking peace . . . that your books are really controversial, not peace-making. You may be sure I take your part—without any merit of mine, because I know how loving your heart is—but it has sunk deep into the minds of all Catholics, 'He has got an *arrière pensée.*'"[1] Pusey attempted to efface this impression by publishing, a few months later, in November, under the title, *Is Healthful Reunion Impossible?* a second letter to Newman, which he thought, this time, was a true *Eirenicon* and which he immediately sent to several Catholic Bishops. He therein examined the difficulties which could be brought against Reunion from both sides, and he tried to suggest terms for each. A considerable portion of this work is devoted to the question of infallibility. The author ends with a touching appeal for the reconciliation of those who were "sons of the same fathers," and he shows the necessity of this in presence

[1] Letter of July 4, 1869 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 165).

of "the evil days and troubled times" which "seem to be coming upon the earth."

As the opening of the Council approached, the more the definition of infallibility and the dogmatic confirmation of the *Syllabus* were announced as certain, the less Pusey appeared to be disposed to advance. He wrote: "I expect nothing under the present Pope. Under a future Pope there may be great changes." The pressing invitation addressed to him and to Forbes by Père de Buck to go to Rome awakened his distrust. He suspected that the only end they had in view was to gain some individual conversions, and that they counted on the impression which an immense assembly of Bishops from all countries of the world would produce on a few isolated Anglicans.[1] "I know," he wrote to Newman, who had also counselled this journey, "what I should find at Rome: great individual kindness, of which I am unworthy, an exaggerated belief of my personal influence, great interest in the progress of truth, and conviction of the duty of individual submission."

There was no longer any question of the projected propositions being submitted to Rome. In September, 1869, Pusey wrote again to Newman: "I suppose some of us will send propositions to the care of Dupanloup. But," he added, "I suppose it will have no result, except, please God, for hereafter."[2] In vain did Père de Buck, with still greater earnestness, ask for these proposals. Pusey turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties, and contented himself with getting Forbes to write a letter to the Jesuit,

[1] Letters to Forbes and to Littledale (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 176, 180).

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 183.

in which he defined the position which the Anglo-Catholics wished to hold, reiterating their desire for union, and, at the same time, their conviction of the validity of their orders and sacraments, and also their assurance that they could save their souls in their own Church.[1]

III

The deliberations of the Council began on December 8, 1869. Those in England who observed the course of events, and listened to the reports which came to them from Rome, had at first the impression that the Infallibilists would carry all before them. They alone, to the exclusion of all their opponents, were named members of the commissions charged to submit propositions to the Council—notably the most important of all, the Commission *de fide*. The composition of this last Commission, and, above all, the fact that Manning was called upon to share in it, confirmed Pusey in his opinion that there was no use in his making any further attempts.

Three days after, in a letter to Newman,[2] he says:

"The composition of the Congregation on Dogma has discouraged us. Those whom we should have had most confidence in, Mgrs. Dupanloup and Darboy, omitted, and Manning in it. It is utterly hopeless to send any propositions to a Congregation in which Manning should be a leading member."

Manning's name appears at the time in all Pusey's letters, as a sort of bugbear!

At any rate, Pusey was not mistaken in attributing

[1] Letter of the end of December, 1869 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 187-189).

[2] *Unpublished documents.*

to the Archbishop of Westminster a leading part in the Council. From the very beginning that prelate took the position of one of the leaders of the majority. He was then sixty-three years of age; his intellectual powers had reached their highest development. He set himself with passionate energy and superior skill to the task of gaining the victory for the infallibility of the Pope. Though he only spoke twice in the solemn deliberations, his speeches had a great effect, especially that which he made in the general discussion on Infallibility. He kept the assembly's attention for two whole hours on that occasion. He applied himself to refute the objection that the definition would wound public opinion in England and hinder conversions; he finally proved that non-Catholics assailed even more those who professed to believe in infallibility, but refused to define it, and that in their eyes the Ultramontanes alone were frank, consistent, and straightforward. He was still more active outside the sessions. In conversations with individuals, in the ordinary meetings of everyday life, he was incessantly at work—discussing, persuading, winning over his opponents. He displayed in these manœuvres all the natural qualities which he possessed in such a marked degree, and which would have made of him, in the House of Commons, a first-rate Parliamentary Whip; but some of the older prelates of the Council on either side were almost shocked at his novel method of canvassing for votes. Possessing the confidence of Pius IX., he was able to see him as often as he wished, and had access to his apartments by private entrances. His opponents, who were not blind to his extraordinary influence, did not spare him. But he thought himself honoured by

their attacks, and was never more proud than when he was called by the Italian newspapers "*il diavolo del concilio.*"[1]

Manning did not confine himself to the Council-hall; he guarded also against dangers outside it. Efforts, inspired by Dr. Döllinger, were being made, principally at Munich, to rouse the different Governments to express their displeasure in case of the definition of infallibility. Lord Acton, who was in Rome following with passionate attention the deliberations of the Council, profited by his intimacy with Gladstone, then Prime Minister, to try and win the latter over to this intervention policy.[2] Manning, informed of what was going on, applied himself to oppose these measures. He was released by the Pope from the obligation of secrecy, in order that he might furnish Mr. Odo Russell, the diplomatic agent of the English Government at the Vatican, with a true report of the proceedings of the Council. They used to meet, during the session of the Council, every Saturday, and take walks outside the walls of Rome. Manning gave news of the work of the Council to Mr. Odo Russell, and begged him in return to dissuade Lord Clarendon, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, from encouraging the policy suggested by Lord Acton to the Prime Minister. To judge from Manning's own accounts, he had a great share in frustrating the project of intervention by the English Ministry, which project Mr. Gladstone was inclined to support.

Meanwhile the deliberations of the Council took their course, and, after divers alternations, the dogma of Papal Infallibility was definitely proclaimed on July 18, 1870.

[1] He writes: "They gave me the noblest of titles" (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 457).

[2] *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone*, Introductory Memoir, pp. xlii-xlvi.

At first sight it appeared that the most violent partisans of infallibility had had it all their own way; many onlookers thought it was simply a victory for the extreme party to the utter defeat of the moderates. Pusey was of this opinion, and thought there was an end of all projects of Reunion. He seemed to have forgotten that these very projects had, not long before, met with other obstacles from himself which were probably sufficient to frustrate them. He immediately changed the title of his third *Eirenicon*, and instead of *Is Healthful Reunion Possible?* he put *Healthful Reunion, as conceived Possible before the Vatican Council.* "I have done what I could," he wrote to Newman, "and now have done with controversy and *Eirenica*." He added later on: "The Vatican Council is the greatest sorrow that I have ever had in all my long life." Ten years afterwards he had not got over this blow, and he then wrote to one of his friends: "The majority of the Vatican Council crushed me; I have not touched any book of Roman controversy since."

Pusey, like many others at the time, was mistaken as to the true range of the definition. Later on, when it was possible to judge more impartially, and when the deliberations of the Council became more widely known, it was perceived that, in spite of appearances, far from having obtained merely a party victory, the Council had ascended into a higher region than that of personal rivalry and the quarrels of schoolmen, and that it had put aside the extravagant ideas which some had claimed to impose upon it. If it had declared the minority to be in fault as to the opportuneness of the definition, it nevertheless took their observations into account, by putting aside the too absolute formulæ at first proposed, and by defining and limiting

the exceptional cases in which infallibility is actually exercised. The dogma thus defined differs very considerably from the thesis held by the more vehement of the Infallibilists before the Council. Finally, the definition was less of a triumph for the Infallibilists than a safeguard against their exaggerations. Thus, in spite of the passions of men, has the Divine promise of the assistance of the Holy Spirit been realized. This has led one of the historians of the Council—and one, too, ordinarily little indulgent towards the opposition party in the Council—to remark: "The efforts of the learned and eloquent prelates in the minority have not been in vain; it is to them, in a great measure, that we owe the happy wording of the definition; had it not been for their resistance, perhaps the extreme formulas would have prevailed."[1]

IV

It may well be asked what was the view of public opinion and of the different Governments in the period immediately following the vote by which the Vatican Council had defined the infallibility of the Pope. A sudden and tragic diversion was immediately afterwards produced by the war which broke out between France and Germany. If the first consequence of the war was the invasion of Rome by the Italian army and the definitive destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy, whose spiritual power had just been exalted, it had also the effect of violently distracting the public attention from theological questions. No one had eyes for anything but the battle-

[1] *L'Église et l'État au Concile du Vatican*, by Émile Ollivier, p. 371.

fields on which the armies met, and when, after many months of bloody engagements, peace was made, the proclamation of infallibility appeared as an event of the past, and as taken for granted.

The Church did not entirely escape the dangers feared by those who would have preferred to avoid the definition. In Germany a small number of Catholics, but numbering some distinguished scholars among their adherents, refused, with Döllinger, to submit, and attempted to set up a schismatic Church. Bismarck supported them, and made a pretext of the Conciliar vote to set on foot against the Catholics that *Kultur Kampf* which he maintained with such violence for several years, employing for this purpose all the resources of a powerful Government, all the prestige of a victorious Empire, seconded by a majority of Protestant opinion, until the day when he was obliged to own himself impotent before the invincible resistance of conscience. But what took place in Germany belongs not to my subject; we are only interested in its effect in England.

There was, naturally, a feeling of triumph on the side of the English Infallibilists. Manning, more energetic than ever, busied himself in glorifying, explaining, and justifying the decisions of the Council. His zeal extended to the temporal power of the Holy See, against the destruction of which he raised his voice, and he did not hesitate to make predictions as to its speedy re-establishment, which were unrealized.[1] He assembled great meetings of Catholics in London, to protest against the *Kultur Kampf*. As to those who, before the final decision of the Council, had contested the opportuneness of the definition, they submitted without the least hesitation on its promulgation.

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 462.

The author of the pamphlet entitled "*What will Dr. Newman do?*" was absolutely mistaken as to Newman's position. Hardly had the news of the vote of the Council reached him, when, on July 24, 1870, he wrote to a friend: "I saw the new definition yesterday, and am pleased at its moderation—that is, if the doctrine in question is to be defined at all. The terms are vague and comprehensive, and, personally, I have no difficulty in admitting it." He applied himself to reassuring troubled minds, declaring that if, by reason of the opposition of the minority, they had any doubts as to whether the Council were Ecumenical, doubts which, in fact, ought to have been entirely removed by the ultimate submission of each of the members of that minority, they were none the less bound to accept the dogma as defined by the Pope, assisted by a great number of Bishops. He wrote a very touching letter to Père Hyacinthe Loyson, who was breaking away from Rome, in the hope of retaining him: "Nothing which has taken place justifies our separation from the One True Fold of Christ. . . . The Church is the Mother of high and low; of the rulers as well as of the ruled. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.* If she declares by her various voices that the Pope is infallible in certain matters, in those matters infallible he is. What Bishops and people say all over the earth, that is the truth, whatever complaint we may have against certain ecclesiastical proceedings. Let us not oppose ourselves to the universal voice. . . ."[1] A few others of advanced views, like Lord Acton, remained in sympathy with Döllinger, and distrusted the influences predominating at Rome, but did not revolt. Their state of mind was certainly complex and hard to define,

[2] Quoted in the *Tablet* of May 20, 1905.

their very bitter hostility against what they called Ultramontanism being only held in check by anxiety not to break with the Church. The *Times* said very justly of Lord Acton, that it was necessary to remember, in estimating his religious position, that his opposition to the Curia was based on moral and historical considerations, rather than on doctrinal differences.[1]

To the very end he persevered in the state of mind which had led him, a few years previously, to declare to one of his free-thinking friends, Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, that he "had never felt the slightest doubt of any of the dogmas of the Catholic Church," and that nothing in his eyes "was of greater importance than to remain in communion with the Church." Thus, in spite of the bold spirit of criticism which always roused the suspicions of the religious authorities, he never actually incurred their censure, and even succeeded in satisfying his Bishop, Dr. Brown of Shrewsbury, by his explanations of his doctrinal beliefs. He died in 1902 in communion with the Catholic Church. His friend Oxenham, after critical periods of doubt, adhered to Catholicism.

As for English Protestants of every shade, they could only look with a very evil eye on the decision of the Council which exalted the Papal prerogatives. High Churchmen were not the least hostile. With several this state of mind showed itself in the sympathy they bestowed upon the Old Catholics of Germany. Döllinger was created an honorary Doctor of Oxford. Several clergymen and two Bishops—Wordsworth of Lincoln and Brown of Ely—went to the Congress of the "Old" Catholics at Cologne in 1872, though it must be allowed that this step

[1] Acton was raised to the peerage in 1869.

was not universally approved. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, while protesting that he deeply sympathized with Döllinger and his friends, cared little to see his Church officially compromised in a movement the future of which seemed to him so uncertain. Among those desirous of union with the "Old" Catholics was Pusey's most intimate confidant in his recent endeavours for Reunion with the Roman Church, Canon Liddon. A controversy as to the retention of the Athanasian Creed, of which I shall again have occasion to speak when considering Ritualism, was then being anxiously discussed. Pusey and Liddon, who were in favour of retaining it, declared that if a contrary decision were made they would cease to be ministers of the Church of England. Where, then, would they go? Liddon seemed to turn his eyes towards the "Old" Catholics, and wrote to Pusey in February, 1872:

"I, too, cannot become a Roman, because I entirely disbelieve the Pope's infallibility and other things too. And, like you, I have seriously thought of the Old Catholic Movement. If, *e.g.*, I am stranded at midsummer (things will not, I suppose, come to a head before that date), I shall go to Munich, I think, and do any work for Döllinger that I can, and get such knowledge as may be useful for us hereafter in England."[1]

From the beginning of this letter it would seem that Pusey also contemplated uniting himself with the Old Catholics. If he ever had any such desire it was very transient; some months later he manifested a distrustful reserve with regard to the movement, refusing to attend

[1] *Life and Letters of Liddon*, p. 167.

the Congress at Cologne, and blamed those who attended it.[1]

Some of the Anglicans flattered themselves with the notion that by joining the Old Catholics they would facilitate union with more important sects, as, for instance, with the different Churches of the East, and especially the Russian Church. For a long time past minds who suffered from the isolation of an exclusively English Church had been dreaming of this union, and with a view to it the Eastern Church Association had been founded in 1864. At the end of the following year, two months after the appearance of Pusey's first *Eirenicon*, several members of the Church of England, one of whom was Bishop Wilberforce, the most important High Church member of the Episcopate, had assembled to confer with the representatives of the Russian Church. But in vain had Wilberforce, with his accustomed impetuosity, offered to admit to communion the members of the Russian Church, and demanded a similar right for Anglicans in Russia. The only result had been a vague exchange of polite sentiments. After 1870, when the Anglicans, according to Pusey's expression, thought that "the Vatican Council had shut the half-open door in their faces," the idea of an understanding with the Easterns was revived, and, as he wrote to Newman: "There is a prominent feeling, 'Union at any cost.'"[2] On Döllinger's suggestion, conferences were held at Bonn, in which Anglicans, Easterns, and "Old" Catholics took part. As long as there was only a question of abusing the Pope there was no difficulty, but when it came to defining beliefs divergencies appeared,

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 292, 293.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

principally on the subject of the *filioque*, which the Easterns excluded from the Nicene Creed and the Anglicans retained. To bring the dispute to an end, Döllinger drew up an equivocal document, which was adopted by the Easterns, because the disputed clause was left out, and in which Anglicans, weary of the struggle, also appeared to acquiesce. But Pusey, who had been displeased at seeing his friends, especially Liddon, taking part in these conferences, vehemently protested in several letters to the *Times* against what seemed to him an attack on the integrity of the faith, and so effectual were his words that this attempt at conciliation remained without any result. Strange to say, he sought Newman's counsel and support in this protest.

Compliments and polite speeches, however, continued to be exchanged between Anglicans and Old Catholics. In 1878 the Lambeth Conference, a gathering of all the Anglican Churches in the world, charged a commission, composed of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well as of several Bishops, to put themselves into communication with any of the "Old" Catholics who might desire the aid of the Church of England. In 1881 Tait, in spite of his former misgivings, gave a warm welcome to two "Old" Catholic Bishops, Reinkens and Herzog, who had come to discuss their prospects, and he especially took under his protection the ex-Carmelite Père Hyacinthe and his mission in France.[1] His successor, Dr. Benson, was more cautious; for he had remarked that the Church of England did not even receive, in return for her sympathy, any explicit recognition of her position, and that the Jansenist Church of Holland, upon which the "Old"

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 429, 514, 527, 528, 532, 544, 547.

Catholic Bishops of Germany aud Switzerland relied, persisted in denying that the Anglican Episcopate was in possession of Apostolic Succession.[1] However, after Benson's death, in the Lambeth Conference of 1898, Bishop Herzog appeared at the public ceremonies in the midst of the Anglican Bishops. At this conference delegates were named to attend at the "Old" Catholic Congress. It appears that, at the present day, Anglicans who desire to communicate in the "Old" Catholic Churches of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria are admitted there; and that in Germany, where the custom is to communicate under one kind only, they are communicated under the two species.[2] It is to no purpose that these marks of sympathy have been multiplied in England; they have utterly failed to communicate to a dead movement the principle of life which it lacked. Those Anglicans whose one impulse was not hatred of Rome, and whose policy was not to uphold blindly all who rebelled against her, were soon undeceived. This was the case with Liddon, who very soon became disillusioned with those reformers upon whom he had erstwhile built so great hopes.[3]

The union of the Church of England with the Eastern Churches yet remains the dream of several Anglicans, uneasy at their isolated position, and reappears whenever occasion to complain of the Church of Rome arises. The Eastern Church Association, which had been gradually disorganized, was reconstituted in 1893, giving itself the mission to promote this union, and a layman, an influential member of the English Church Union, Mr.

[1] *Life of Benson*, vol. ii., p. 198. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Life and Letters of Liddon*, pp. 265, 359.

Birkbeck, devoted himself to this task. In 1896 one of the most distinguished members of the Anglican Episcopate, Dr. Creighton, Bishop of London, was officially delegated to be present at the crowning of the Tsar Nicholas II., and he was seen with cope, mitre, and cross, taking part in all the ceremonies, giving his blessing to the moujicks who knelt to kiss his hand. In 1898 we find another prelate, the Bishop of Salisbury, fraternizing with the Eastern Churches. But, upon the whole, nothing more than external demonstrations were accomplished, and true union was as far off as at the beginning.

V

The opposition which the decision of the Council met with in England was not confined to the theological world, but sometimes overflowed into the political as well. Thus, at the end of 1873, and in the beginning of 1874, the pseudo-Liberals, in a frenzy of No-Popery fanaticism, made plans to assemble a great meeting in London to support, by the weight of English public opinion, the German Government in its policy of religious persecution. Lord John Russell, then an octogenarian, but always animated by the passion which in 1850 had led him, at the time of the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy, so fiercely to denounce the "Papal Aggression," had promised to preside at the meeting. Hindered by ill-health from keeping his promise, he wrote a public letter, in which he declared that "the cause of the Emperor of Germany was that of liberty, and the cause of the Pope that of slavery." He thus earned the thanks of the Emperor William I. and of Bismarck, who was little accustomed to receive a brief for

liberalism.[1] This letter, however, had little effect on public opinion in England. It required the sudden intervention of Gladstone to kindle the flame.

Gladstone had just left office after a ministry of six years, during which he had touched upon many questions and undertaken many reforms—too many, perhaps, for public opinion, which had grown somewhat alarmed. The occasion, rather than the cause, of his fall had been the rejection of the Bill on the University of Dublin. Having already done much for Ireland, having abolished the Established Church, and carried the first Land Law, he had desired to complete his work by facing the problem, so long existing and not yet solved, of higher education for Irish Catholics, and, with this object, he had proposed to transform the Protestant University of Dublin into a mixed University, in which Catholics would find a place. But this combination had not been accepted by the Bishops, who demanded an exclusively Catholic University, and, on their advice, the Irish Members of Parliament joined the Conservative Opposition to crush the Bill. Gladstone, hurt by this desertion, wished to resign at once, but the Conservatives refused to take office with a minority in the House of Commons, and Ministers had to remain in their seats "like extinct volcanoes," as Disraeli maliciously remarked. Impatient of this position, Gladstone resolved to make a decisive move, and on January 23, 1874, he announced the Dissolution of Parliament. He threw himself into the electioneering struggle with such impetuosity that Lord Shaftesbury, slightly disgusted, wrote: "It is a new and very serious thing to see the

[1] *Life of Lord John Russell*, by Spencer Walpole, vol. ii., pp. 446-449.

Prime Minister demean himself thus. Is not something due to the dignity of his position? To tell the truth, to see him run from Greenwich to Blackheath, to Woolwich, to New Cross—in short, to every place in which a platform could be erected, makes one think of *Punch* rather than of the Premier."[1] All his efforts ended in failure. Defeated in the country as he had been in Parliament, Gladstone not only yielded up his office to Disraeli, but, in a public letter to Lord Granville, resigned his leadership of the Liberal party, and, like Achilles irritated by the ingratitude of the Greeks, withdrew into his tent. The question was to find a new channel for his feverish activity.

In these circumstances a Bill was brought in, the avowed object of which was "to lay low the Ritualists." The question thus raised was one which Gladstone had at heart. He reappeared for a moment in the House of Commons in July, 1874, to oppose the project, and made a bold and eloquent speech, which, however, did not prevent the Bill being passed by an immense majority. Soon after, in October, he returned to the charge, in an article published in the *Contemporary Review*, in the course of which he went out of his way to insert a violent tirade against Catholicism, as it appeared to him on the morrow of the Vatican Council. After having recalled, in defence of the Ritualists, "that at no time since the reign of Bloody Mary" had it been possible for a handful of clergy to pretend to Romanize the Church and the people of England, he added:

"But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth; when Rome has substituted for the

[1] Quoted by Mme. Dronsart in her book on Mr. Gladstone.

proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief."

Such a gratuitously insulting attack irritated Catholics, and impelled them to protest. Nothing more was needed to turn the pugnacity of Gladstone, which was then unoccupied, into a new channel. The statesman, thwarted in the political field, threw himself heart and soul into religious controversy, and in November, 1874, he published a first pamphlet, under the title *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance; A Political Expostulation.* In his opinion the Council had fabricated a new kind of Catholicism; the Church which was the result was not that with which Pitt and Robert Peel had treated: it was henceforward bound up with that system, more political than religious, which in Germany is called "Vaticanism." This Vaticanism suppressed all control, all liberty of discussion; the Episcopate, grievously hampered, both in its dignity and in its power, would no longer be able to exercise, as in the past, a power of arbitration between Rome and the different Governments: it had become the docile instrument of a foreign will. The Pope alone would henceforward have the supreme and infallible right to pronounce, not only upon faith and morals, but upon all that concerned the discipline and government of the Church, and all that concerned the salvation of men.

What was there that could not be placed in this category, since the Pope reserved to himself the right to fix this limit? In reality his newly-voted power was unlimited, and would be more and more exercised in matters hitherto considered to be within the domain of the State. Moreover, the author recalled "that the Pontiff who brought this doctrine to light was the same who had condemned freedom of speech, the study of civil and philosophical matters independently of ecclesiastical authority, the toleration of other Churches, liberty of conscience, the settlement by the State of the civil rights of the Church; who, in consequence, asked of the Church only the titles which established his own civil rights, while adding a Divine right to civil immunities, and the right to use material force; who, finally, had proudly denied that the Popes of the Middle Ages, with their Councils, had invaded the rights of Princes." And then, turning to English Catholics, Gladstone placed before them the following case of conscience: "If to-morrow the Pope were to declare null and void some law passed by the English Parliament, as he has already condemned the ecclesiastical laws voted by the Prussian Parliament, how would Catholics reconcile the obedience they owe him with their duty as English subjects? What would they do if to-morrow the Holy Father, in virtue of the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, deposed the Queen of England? England," he concluded, "is entitled to ask and to know in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Vatican Council is to be reconciled with the integrity of civil allegiance. In a word, is it possible to be both a good Englishman and a good Catholic?" All this was said without the least circumspection, interspersed with such phrases as "the present

degradation of the episcopal order," the "subserviency or pliability of the Council," the "hideous mummeries," the "follies of ecclesiastical power," "foreign arrogance," and the "myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber."

What was the author aiming at, and what his practical conclusion? Logical Protestants wrote to him to say that, if his arguments were sound, the Act emancipating Catholics ought to be withdrawn and "their feet put into irons again." A *Kultur Kampf* ought to be organized, like Bismarck's. But it was obvious that Gladstone was thinking of nothing of the kind; if he did not express the disapproval of the German persecution which was expected of him, and if he confined himself to the passing remark "that he did not intend to enter into an examination of the quarrel between Rome and the German Empire," he at least took care not to hold up that policy as an example to his fellow-countrymen. At bottom, without pausing to consider the practical results of his action, all that he wished was to produce a strong effect on public opinion, and rouse it against Ultramontanism. In this respect he in a large measure attained his end. Thanks to its author's fame, to the passionate and persuasive logic which flattered the prejudices of a people always ready to be roused against Popery, the pamphlet at once created a great stir, and in a few weeks 120,000 copies were sold. It seemed as if English opinion had taken fire on the question of "Vaticanism."

These attacks, which would have seemed natural from the pen of a Lord John Russell, surprise us when coming from Gladstone. He was certainly one of the most earnestly Christian statesmen of his day in England, and it would have been almost impossible to find among the

ruling Ministers of other countries one whose faith was so sincere, who was so ardent in piety, or so supremely solicitous for the interests of religion. On the Continent he would have been called a "Clerical." Theology interested him even more keenly than politics. In his youth he had desired to take Orders, and had only been induced to change his mind out of deference to the wishes of his father, who had determined to make a statesman of him. Manning, whose natural inclination had, on the contrary, been for Parliament, said of Gladstone, towards the end of his life: "He was nearer to being a clergyman than I was; I believe as fit for it as I was unfit." In his religious zeal there was nothing of the sectarian bigotry of certain Protestants. In sympathy, and more or less in communication, with the men of the Oxford Movement, he seemed by the views and forms of his piety to be inclined to Catholicism. He had been on intimate terms with several of the converts of 1845 and 1850, especially with Manning and Hope; and if he had not followed them in their final evolution, he had remained, or again become, their friends. Far from bearing any ill-will towards the Church which had taken them from him, he had fought on more than one occasion, without fear of rousing popular prejudice, to gain justice for it. Thus, in 1850, on the occasion of the No-Popery explosion, provoked by the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy, he had courageously opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and one of the Acts of his recent Ministry had been to get it repealed, and he had just brought about the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. How did such a man suddenly become so violent an enemy of Catholicism?

Gladstone had, for some years past, carefully observed

the tendencies prevailing in the Church of Rome which had manifested themselves in the Syllabus and the Council. His usual authority in these matters, Lord Acton, had not represented this affair to him in a favourable light. During the Council, particularly in the letters which Acton wrote from Rome to the Prime Minister to gain him over to his plan of an intervention of the Governments in the deliberations of the Council, he had endeavoured to demonstrate that the projected definition was full of menaces for the civil power, and it would be an easy task to trace in this correspondence the germs of all the arguments afterwards developed in the pamphlet of 1874.[1] Under the influence of these instructions Gladstone became, day by day, more and more irritated at the turn the Council was taking, and on January 2, 1870, he wrote to one of his friends: "For the first time in my life I shall now be obliged to talk about Popery; for it would be a scandal to call the religion they are now manufacturing at Rome by the same name as that of Pascal, or of Bossuet, or of Ganganelli." And later on, when infallibility had been defined, he says: "The whole proceeding has been monstrous. . . . The fanaticism of the Middle Ages is really sober compared with that of the nineteenth century." As soon as the schism of the "Old" Catholics broke out in Germany, Gladstone took the deepest interest in it; he entered into communication with Döllinger, and was with him in Munich in September, 1874. Two months before the appearance of his pamphlet he wrote thence to his wife: "I think I have spent two-thirds of my whole time

[1] *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone*, Introductory Memoir, p. xlvi. We must not, however, omit to add that, when the pamphlet was about to be published, Lord Acton tried to prevent its appearance.

with Dr. Döllinger, who is indeed a most remarkable man, and it makes my blood run cold to think of *his* being excommunicated in his venerable but, thank God, hale and strong old age. I know no one with whose mode of viewing and handling religious matters I more cordially agree."[1] And his biographer adds that he returned from Munich "with the same degree of internal ferment as that which had possessed his mind on his return from Naples three-and-twenty years before." At that time his "ferment" had burst out into those famous letters in which he denounced the atrocities of the Neapolitan prisons and roused all Europe to indignation. On this occasion it produced the indictment against Vaticanism. In both cases he gave striking proofs of that power of being carried away which characterized his generous, but somewhat excessive, nature. On his imagination becoming heated on any subject, it burst into a flame. His views then grew distorted; he saw everything in an unnatural light and out of all proportion. At such times, thinking that he was only following the noblest inspirations, he was often completely carried away. Let us add that in 1874 his natural pugnacity was still further exasperated, almost unconsciously, by his recent Parliamentary disappointments. Besides, with the best faith in the world, in his letters to one of his Catholic friends, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, he denies having intended to attack the Roman Catholic religion; he professes to denounce Vaticanism and nothing else.[2]

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, by Morley, vol. ii., pp. 510, 512.

[2] Letters of December 14, 1874, and March 1, 1875 (*Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., pp. 43, 47).

VI

The appearance of Gladstone's pamphlet and its immediate effect on public opinion threw Catholics into consternation. Replies were made to it on all sides, from Bishops, priests, and laymen, who indignantly protested against such imputations on their loyalty to the Queen. Even Lord Acton, in the *Times*, joined in these protests, while at the same time agreeing with Gladstone in an historical denunciation of the conduct of the Popes, and showing a certain satisfaction at the blow dealt to "Ultramontanism." At the beginning of February, 1875, Gladstone wrote that he had just been reading the twentieth answer to his pamphlet. Manning, both by his high position and his responsible share in the decisions of the Council, was particularly well qualified to speak in this matter. Immediately the pamphlet appeared he addressed to the *Times*, on November 7, 1874, a short and firm letter, in which he asserts "that the Vatican decrees have in no jot or tittle changed either the obligations or the conditions of civil allegiance"; "that the civil allegiance of no man is unlimited, and therefore the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by conscience, is in that sense divided"; and therefore "that the civil allegiance of Catholics is as undivided as that of all Christians"; and he claims for his flock and himself "a civil allegiance as pure, as true, and as loyal as is rendered by the distinguished author of the pamphlet, or by any subject of the British Empire." Three days afterwards, questioned on behalf of the *New York Herald*, he wrote a similar protest, and added to it some severe words on Mr. Gladstone's

action—"the first event," he says, "that has overcast a friendship of forty-five years."[1] The Archbishop, however, did not confine himself to such brief protests. After a preparation of eight or ten weeks, he published a more extensive refutation, in January, 1875. The proposition which he therein developed was the same as in his letter to the *Times*—viz., that the Council had made no change in the position of Catholics as regards their civil allegiance. He proved from the testimony of history that the conflicts between the Church and the civil powers were invariably caused by the attempts of the latter to invade the spiritual domain. He would surrender none of the rights claimed by the Popes in the past, even in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, giving a somewhat scornful assurance that, in the actual conditions of society, the Queen of England had nothing to fear. Then, passing on to more recent events, he explained how the Council was led to define the infallibility of the Head of the Church. The conclusion was a saddened remonstrance addressed to Gladstone:

"A few months ago I could not have believed that I should have ever written these pages. I have never written any with more pain. . . . No man has watched Mr. Gladstone's career as a statesman with a more generous and disinterested goodwill than I have. No one has more gladly appreciated his gifts; no one has more equitably interpreted certain acts of his political life,

[1] To this last complaint Gladstone, somewhat piqued, replied that the Archbishop had forgotten the separation of twelve years which had followed his conversion to Catholicism. The result was an interchange of rather sharp letters and a new rupture, which, however, was not prolonged indefinitely. After some years their relations were renewed on their former footing (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 478, 479, 489-491).

nor has hailed his successes with greater joy. But when he casts off the character of a statesman, for which he has shown so great capacity, to play the canonist and theologian, for which he has here shown so little, and that with the intent of sowing discord and animosities among six millions of his fellow-countrymen, and I must, moreover, add, with an indulgence of unchastened language rarely to be equalled, I feel bound to say that he has been betrayed into an act for which I can find no adequate excuse. . . . Mr. Gladstone can do many things, but he cannot do all things. He has a strong hand, but there is a bow which he cannot bend! He has here tried his hand at a task for which, without something more than mere literary knowledge, even his varied gifts will not suffice. . . .

"I have written these words with a painful constraint, but, cost what it may, duty must be done, and I believe it to be my duty to record this judgment, in behalf of the Catholics of this country, on an act unjust in itself, and therefore not only barren of all good result, but charged with grave public dangers.

"But I cannot break off with a note so cheerless. If this expostulation has cast down many hopes both of a public and of a private kind, we cannot altogether regret its publication. If such mistrusts and misconceptions existed in the minds of our fellow-subjects, the sooner and the more openly they were made public the better. We are not content to be tolerated as suspect or dangerous persons. . . . We thank Mr. Gladstone for gaining us the hearing which we have had before the public justice of our country, and we are confident that his impeachment will be withdrawn. His own mind is too large, too just, and too upright, to refuse to acknowledge an error when he sees that he has been misled. . . . I see in this the augury of a happier and more peaceful future than if this momentary conflict had never arisen. We shall understand each other better. Our civil and religious peace at home will be firmer by this trial."

VII

Whatever authority Manning's words may have had, Newman was more readily listened to by the English public. All British Catholics turned naturally to him whenever they had to face the prejudices of their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Even those who resented his attitude before and during the Council were none the less ready to admit that there was no one better qualified to explain to those without the decisions of that Council. Newman never had the least temptation to look askance upon those who had held aloof from or suspected him. Under the pacific influence of age, he was more adverse to controversy than in 1865, when he answered Pusey's *Eirenicon;* he felt some repugnance in criticizing Gladstone, in whose career he felt keenly interested, and who had chivalrously sent him advance copies of his pamphlet, so as to enable his reply to appear almost simultaneously. Newman was called upon from various quarters; and "his conscience told him that he, who had been in great measure the cause of so many becoming Catholics, had no right to leave them in the lurch when charges were made against them as serious as unexpected."[1] Besides, from the time when, contrary to his expectation, infallibility had been defined, he thought it of supreme importance to rectify the false interpretations to which the exaggerations of certain Catholic writers had given rise, and which the adversaries of the Church had lost no opportunity of spreading and turning to account.

Newman knew that he had a formidable adversary to

[1] Letter of January 17, 1875 (*Life of Gladstone*, by Morley, vol. ii., p. 522).

deal with. After reading Gladstone's pamphlet, he wrote to Phillipps de Lisle: "Mr. G. seems to me to have said some very unjustifiable, cruel things in his paper, but I fear we shall have great difficulty in making everything clear and satisfactory to the Protestant mind." Two days later, when, no doubt, he had a clearer view of what the nature of his reply should be, he seemed more hopeful, and wrote: "I am not at all sorry that Gladstone is publishing such an expostulation as this is; it must turn to good."[1] Less than two months sufficed to prepare his reply, which appeared on December 27, 1874, and, consequently, some weeks before Manning's, under the form of *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. It is an extensive document of about 200 pages. The author begins by denouncing the incompetence and injustice of Gladstone in these attacks; he declares it to be unworthy of his high character to "bring . . . odium and bad feeling upon excellent men whose only offence is their religion," and he remarks, with a kind of sorrowful irony, that so much eloquence was not needed in England to excite minds against the unhappy Catholics. But at the same time, turning to his co-religionists, he adds:

"I own to a deep feeling that Catholics may in good measure thank themselves, and no one else, for having alienated from them so religious a mind. There are those among us, as it must be confessed, who for years past have conducted themselves as if no responsibility attached to wild words and overbearing deeds; who have stated truths in the most paradoxical form, and stretched principles till they were close upon snapping; who, in fine, after having done their best to set the house on fire, leave others the task of putting out the flame. The English

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., pp. 42, 44.

people are sufficiently sensitive of the claims of the Pope without having them, as if in defiance, flourished in their faces. Those claims most certainly I am not going to deny; I have never denied them. I have no intention, now that I have to write upon them, to conceal any part of them. And I uphold them as heartily as I recognize my duty of loyalty to the constitution, the laws, and the Government of England. I see no inconsistency in my being at once a good Catholic and a good Englishman. Yet it is one thing to be able to satisfy myself as to my consistency, quite another to satisfy others; and, undisturbed as I am in my own conscience, I have great difficulties in the task before me. I have one difficulty to overcome in the present excitement of the public mind against our religion, caused partly by the chronic extravagances of knots of Catholics here and there, partly by the vehement rhetoric which is the occasion and subject of this letter."

Newman then replied to the accusations of Gladstone, whom he followed into the domains of history, theology, and public law. His argument is close and skilful, free from violence or declamation. He is careful to present his views in the form most intelligible to the English mind, trying to dissipate prejudices by the loyalty of his tone and the straightforwardness of his arguments. He vindicates and justifies the prerogatives of the Pope; but, in order to prove, in opposition to Gladstone, that they neither enslave Catholics nor endanger civil power, he shows them to be limited. As regards a "divided allegiance," he maintains, by the aid of theological teaching, that no Catholic is bound blindly to obey the Pope in any and every matter indiscriminately; and when people take to putting more or less probable hypotheses, it is possible to imagine some particular case in which the order of a temporal sovereign ought to be preferred to the

Pope's. In like manner, he denies that the rights of conscience, properly understood—that is to say, as "obedience to the Divine voice speaking within us"—are annihilated by the Pope's authority, and that, as Gladstone contended, the moral liberty of Catholics has been destroyed by the proclamation of infallibility. "Conscience," he observes, "is not a judgment upon any speculative truth, any abstract doctrine, but bears immediately on conduct—on something to be done or not done." It is a "practical dictate." And, again: "A collision is possible between it and the Pope's authority only when the Pope legislates or gives particular orders and the like; but a Pope is not infallible in his laws, nor in his commands, nor in his acts of state, nor in his administration, nor in his public policy." And Newman continued:

"What have excommunication and interdict to do with infallibility? Was St. Peter infallible on that occasion at Antioch when St. Paul withstood him? Was St. Victor infallible when he separated from his communion the Asiatic Churches? Or Liberius, when in like manner he excommunicated Athanasius? And, to come to later times, was Gregory XIII. when he had a medal struck in honour of the Bartholomew massacre? or Paul IV. in his conduct towards Elizabeth? or Sextus V. when he blessed the Armada? or Urban VIII. when he persecuted Galileo?"

He concludes this part of the letter by this very English sentiment: "Certainly, if I am obliged to bring religion into after-dinner toasts (which, indeed, does not seem quite the thing), I shall drink to the Pope, if you please—still to conscience first and to the Pope afterwards."

Newman then proceeded to treat of the Encyclical of 1864 and of the Syllabus. He defines and limits their

sense and range by an interpretation analogous to that which Mgr. Dupanloup had already given in his famous pamphlet. He refuses to admit that the Syllabus is an act of the Pope's doctrinal authority, in which he exercises his infallibility; in his opinion it is simply a table of contents, an index of errors formerly condemned in pontifical documents of varying importance and authority. The stir caused by this act appears to him to be the result of misunderstandings of the way in which it was composed and drawn up, and of the ignorance of the public as to theological language and procedure.

Concerning the Vatican Council, Newman protests in the first place against the absurd and lying rumours which had represented him as on the point of joining Döllinger:

"The explanation of such reports about me is easy. They arise from forgetfulness, on the part of those who spread them, that there are two sides of ecclesiastical acts, that right ends are often prosecuted by very unworthy means, and that in consequence those who, like myself, oppose a line of action are not necessarily opposed to the issue for which it has been adopted. Jacob gained by wrong means his destined blessing. All are not Israelites who are of Israel, 'and there are partisans of Rome who have not the sanctity and wisdom of Rome herself.'

"I am not referring to anything which took place within the walls of the Council chambers; of that, of course, we know nothing. But even though things occurred there which it is not pleasant to dwell upon, that would not at all affect, not by an hair's breadth, the validity of the resulting definition, as I shall presently show. What I felt deeply, and ever shall feel while life lasts, is the violence and cruelty of journals and other publications, which, taking, as they professed to do, the Catholic side, employed themselves by their rash language (though, of course, they did not mean it so) in unsettling the weak in

faith, throwing back inquirers, and shocking the Protestant mind. Nor do I speak of publications only; a feeling was too prevalent in many places that no one could be true to God and His Church who had any pity on troubled souls, or any scruple of 'scandalizing those little ones who believe in' Christ, and of 'despising and destroying him for whom He died.' It was this most keen feeling which made me say, as I did continually, 'I will not believe that the Pope's infallibility will be defined till defined it is.'"

After having thus unburdened his heart of what had wounded it in the past, Newman recalls how, once the definition had been voted, he had accepted it without hesitation. At the same time he defines it exactly, and shows how limited are the cases in which infallibility is exercised. He takes occasion from this to make the following general reflections:

"So difficult a virtue is faith, even with the special grace of God, in proportion as the reason is exercised, so difficult is it to assent inwardly to propositions, verified to us neither by reason nor experience, but depending for their reception on the word of the Church as God's oracle, that she has ever shown the utmost care to contract, as far as possible, the range of truths and the sense of propositions, of which she demands this absolute reception. 'The Church,' says Pallavicini, 'as far as may be, has ever abstained from imposing upon the minds of men that commandment, the most arduous of the Christian Law—viz., to believe obscure matters without doubting.' To co-operate in this charitable duty has been one special work of her theologians, and rules are laid down by herself, by tradition and by custom, to assist them in the task. She only speaks when it is necessary to speak; but hardly has she spoken out magisterially some great general principle, when she sets her theologians to work to explain her meaning in the concrete, by strict interpretation of its wording, by the illustration of its circumstances, and by the recognition of exceptions, in order to

make it as tolerable as possible, and the least of a temptation to self-willed, independent, or wrongly-educated minds. A few years ago it was the fashion among us to call writers who conformed to this rule of the Church by the name of 'minimizers'; that day of tyrannous *ipse-dixits*, I trust, is over. Bishop Fessler, a man of high authority, for he was Secretary-General of the Vatican Council, and of higher authority still in his work, for it has the approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff, clearly proves to us that a moderation of doctrine, dictated by charity, is not inconsistent with soundness in the faith."[1]

In the course of his examination into the decisions of the Council, Newman was led to consider the historical objections, against infallibility, raised by Döllinger and other learned Germans. What he says on this subject has a range which outruns this particular controversy and deserves to be remembered.

"I will never say a word of my own against those learned and distinguished men to whom I refer. No, their present whereabouts, wherever it is, is to me a thought full of melancholy. It is a tragical event, both for them and for us, that they have left us. It robs us of a great prestige; they have left none to take their place. I think them utterly wrong in what they have done and are doing; and, moreover, I agree as little in their view of history as in their acts. . . . I am denying, not their report of facts, but their use of the facts they report, and that because of that special standpoint from which they view the relations existing between the records of History and the enunciations of Popes and Councils. They seem to me to expect from History more than History can furnish, and to have too little confidence in the Divine Promise and Providence as guiding and determining those enunciations. Why should Ecclesiastical History, any more than the text of Scripture, contain in it 'the whole counsel of God'? Why should private judgment be

[1] Mgr. Fessler had published, after the Council, his work entitled *De la Vraie et de la Fausse Infaillibilite.*

unlawful in interpreting Scripture against the voice of authority, and yet be lawful in the interpretation of History? . . . For myself, I would simply confess that no doctrine of the Church can be rigorously proved by historical evidence; but at the same time that no doctrine can be simply disproved by it. Historical evidence reaches a certain way, more or less, towards a proof of the Catholic doctrines; often nearly the whole way; sometimes it goes only so far as to point in their direction; sometimes there is only an absence of evidence for a conclusion contrary to them—nay, sometimes there is an apparent leaning of the evidence to a contrary conclusion, which has to be explained; in all cases there is a margin left for the exercise of faith in the word of the Church. He who believes the dogmas of the Church only because he has reasoned them out of History is scarcely a Catholic. It is the Church's dogmatic use of History in which the Catholic believes; and she uses other informants also: Scripture, Tradition, the ecclesiastical sense, and a subtle ratiocinative power, which in its origin is a Divine gift. There is nothing of bondage or 'renunciation of mental freedom' in this view, any more than in the converts of the Apostles believing what the Apostles might preach to them or teach them out of Scripture."

Having now completed his argument, Newman thus demonstrates that he has fully answered Mr. Gladstone:

"The main point of Mr. Gladstone's charge against us is, that in 1870, after a series of preparatory acts, a great change and irreversible was effected in the political attitude of the Church by the third and fourth chapters of the Vatican *Pastor Æternus*, a change which no State or statesman can afford to pass over. Of this cardinal assertion I consider he has given no proof at all; and my object throughout the foregoing pages has been to make this clear. The Pope's infallibility, indeed, and his supreme authority have in the Vatican "capita" been declared matters of faith; but his prerogative of infallibility lies in matters speculative, and his prerogative of authority is no infallibility in laws, commands, or measures.

His infallibility bears upon the domain of thought, not directly of action; and while it may fairly exercise the theologian, philosopher, or man of science, it scarcely concerns the politician. Moreover, whether the recognition of his infallibility in doctrine will increase his actual power over the fate of Catholics remains to be seen, and must be determined by the event, for there are gifts too large and too fearful to be handled freely. Mr. Gladstone seems to feel this, and therefore insists upon the increase made by the Vatican definition in the Pope's authority. But there is no real increase; he has for centuries upon centuries had and used that authority which the definition now declares ever to have belonged to him. Before the Council there was the rule of obedience, and there were exceptions to the rule; and since the Council the rule remains, and with it the possibility of exceptions."

Newman then discusses the objections which might be brought against "the differences in views and arguments" between him and the other Catholics who have replied to Mr. Gladstone. He explains that, though Catholics can have only one opinion on matters of faith, they may differ in theological opinions, which proves, as he says, after all, "that private judgment is not so utterly unknown among Catholics as Protestants are desirous to establish."

"I draw from these remarks two conclusions: first as regards Protestants, Mr. Gladstone should not, on the one hand, declaim against us as having 'no mental freedom,' if the periodical press, on the other hand, is to mock us as admitting a liberty of private judgment, purely Protestant. . . . Secondly, for the benefit of some Catholics, I would observe that, while I acknowledge one Pope, *jure divino*, I acknowledge no other, and that I think it a usurpation, too wicked to be comfortably dwelt upon, when individuals use their own private judgment, in the discussion of religious questions, not simply *abundare in suo sensu*, but for the purpose of anathematizing the private judgment of others.

"I say that there is only one Oracle of God, the Holy Catholic Church and the Pope as her Head. To her teaching I have ever desired all my thoughts, all my words to be conformed; to her judgment I submit what I have now written, what I have ever written, not only as regards its truth, but as to its prudence, its suitableness, and its expedience. I think I have not pursued any end of my own in anything I have published, but I know well that, in matters not of faith, I may have spoken when I ought to have been silent."

In these words he ends this letter in which he unites loyal independence and complete submission. Yet we should not thoroughly know his state of mind if we did not here add the postscript which Newman afterwards inserted in a later edition. He was then making a reply to his former Protestant friends, who seemed to think that he was discouraged and disappointed by the reverses he had met with in his new Communion:

"All I can say is, that from the day I became a Catholic to this day, now close upon thirty years, I have never had a moment's misgiving that the Communion of Rome is that Church which the Apostles set up at Pentecost, which alone has 'the adoption of sons, and the glory, and the covenants, and the revealed law, and the service of God, and the promises,' and in which the Anglican Communion, whatever its merits and demerits, whatever the great excellence of individuals in it, has as such no part. Nor have I ever, since 1845, for a moment hesitated in my conviction that it was my clear duty to join, as I did then join, that Catholic Church, which in my conscience I felt to be Divine. Persons and places, incidents and circumstances of life, which belong to my first forty-four years, are deeply lodged in my memory and my affections; moreover, I have had more to try and afflict me in various ways as a Catholic than as an Anglican; but never for a moment have I wished myself back, never have I ceased to thank my Maker for His mercy in enabling me to make

the great change, and never has He let me feel forsaken by Him, or in distress, or any kind of religious trouble."

The *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* had an immediate success. At the end of two days fifteen thousand copies had been sold.[1] Honest Protestants were moved and touched by these sincere arguments, written in a language they could all understand and admire, and in which there was nothing to wound them. Gladstone had met with the adversary best fitted to restrain and disarm the passions which he had excited. Catholics in general were proud of their champion, and grateful for his help in that perilous crisis. A prince of the Church, Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, became the official interpreter of their gratitude by praising in a Pastoral Letter "the admirable answer of the venerable Doctor Newman." At the same time, certain Catholics who felt that Newman was alluding to them when he spoke of imprudent exaggerations of some among them felt a certain displeasure, which was more or less openly manifested. In his pamphlet, which did not appear till after Newman's, Manning, when enumerating the different replies which had been made to Gladstone, makes not the smallest allusion to the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*. Others went farther, and denounced it as the work of a "minimizer" and an act of opposition to the Pope. Can we, then, be astonished when Mgr. Nardi, an important personage of the *Curia*, complained that even Manning's work "savoured of conciliation," and threatened to attack it publicly? Ward, who felt Newman's strictures more keenly than anyone, yet criticized him in the *Dublin Review* with comparative modera-

[1] *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, vol. ii., p. 56.

tion and goodwill. He pointed out that he would never have dreamed of giving the name "minimistic" to such a treatise, and he even added that he had "hardly ever read a work with which he felt generally more in sympathy on certain points." Newman, at the time he published his pamphlet, had written an affectionate letter to his former disciple to prepare him for the strictures he was about to make as to certain excessive views. Ward's answer is curious, and, to a certain degree, touching. He thanks his former master for his "various kind expressions," and while continuing to uphold his own views, he shows, for the first time, that his assurance is beginning to waver:

"I am daily more and more convinced that my aim has been the true one, but I am also daily more and more convinced that I have fallen into grievous mistakes of judgment from time to time, whether as regards what I have said, or (much more) my way of saying it. I may say with the greatest sincerity that the one main cause of this has always appeared to me to be my breach with you. Never was a man more unfit than I to play any kind of first fiddle. You supplied exactly what I needed: corrected extravagances, corrected crudities, suggested opposite considerations, pointed out exaggerations of language, etc., etc. When I found that you and I (as I thought) proceeded on fundamentally different principles, this invaluable help was lost, and I have never been able even approximately to replace you. If you will not laugh at the expression, I will say that I have felt myself a kind of intellectual orphan. . . . Excuse this tremendous prolixity of egotism. It will at least show how very desirous I am that you should think less ill than you do of my intellectual attitude, and that your rebukes, therefore, should be less severe. The whole colour of my life has changed, I assure you, from the loss of your sympathy. But my gratitude for the past will ever remain intact."[1]

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 270-274.

At the end of his life Ward's honesty led him to make the further admission: "I have now no doubt," he wrote, a year before his death, "that in various parts of my pamphlets I pressed one or two of my points much too far. . . . This was due, in part, I take for granted, to the heat of polemics; but it is due still more (I think) to a certain hankering after premature logical completeness which I quite recognize as prominent among my intellectual faults."[1]

Among those who reproached Newman for having disclaimed certain exaggerations, some would have been well pleased had Rome shared in their resentment. Pius IX., in spite of the prejudices which had so long been put into his mind, did not favour their wishes. Though he did not address to the author of the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* any of those public or private testimonies or gratitude which he usually bestowed so freely on the defenders of the Church, he at least declared, in a conversation with the Rector of the English College in Rome, Father O'Callaghan, that he had never had any intention of condemning Newman's pamphlet, although he thought some passages in it objectionable. He had heard, he said, that "good had been effected by it," and that it had completely dispelled all notion of Newman's opposition to the Pope.[2] Certainly, Newman deserved some further recognition. But he had still to wait a few years, until at last the Holy See, in the person of Leo XIII., recognizing what was due to one of its most zealous and useful defenders, called upon Newman to join Manning in the Sacred College of Cardinals. Pius IX. had bestowed this honour

[1] *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 264.
[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 486.

on the Archbishop of Westminster not long before. Thus the Pope officially acknowledged the eminent services rendered to the Church by the deeds and writings of the illustrious Oratorian. When we see these two great servants of the Church, in spite of their divergences, clothed with the same purple, we are better able to understand how, in unity of faith, submission, and devotedness, Catholic authority admits of different views and ways of acting, and how greatly its breadth of view differs from the narrowness and exclusiveness of party spirit.

VIII

Gladstone was not a man to retire before the numerous opponents he had raised up against himself. In January, 1875, he wounded Catholic feeling still more deeply by publishing an article in the *Quarterly Review* on the "Discourses of the Pope," the virulence of which ill became a statesman. He qualifies the Pope's pronouncements as "highly incendiary," and reproaches the Pope with too great a love of talking, a very singular reproach to come from Mr. Gladstone. "No lips," he says, "have let fall from the Papal throne such a mass of matter. For twenty-eight years he has lived on the moral nourishment continually served up to him by a retinue of sycophants—so much so that all the fibres of his nature are saturated by it. It cannot be from policy; it must be a necessity of his nature which drives him to these incessant harangues. . . . He discharges, from week to week, from day to day, sometimes several times a day, these copious and violently explosive materials. . . ." The author then ridicules "this prisoner who is not

imprisoned," this despoiled person "to whom the credulity of millions of men secures means of existence equal to those of any rich gentleman of London or Paris." He imputes to the Holy Father the crime of bestowing pensions on three thousand people. "Doubtless," he says, "they count upon them to show themselves upon all great occasions, like the actors in a theatre." As for Pontifical anathemas, he declared that they "can no longer inspire fear nor command respect."

A new publication appeared a month later, under the title *Vaticanism;* it was a reply to the opponents of the first pamphlet. In it Gladstone treats Newman with marked courtesy, praising his talent and loyalty. Manning is the chief object of his attacks. For the rest, while upholding his favourite doctrine of the transformation of Catholicism, he admitted somewhat grudgingly that the immediate object of his appeal had been attained, in so far as the loyalty of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, or the majority of them at least, had plainly remained intact and secure. Soon afterwards his two pamphlets and the article in the *Quarterly Review* were republished in a volume, entitled *Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion.* These polemics seem to have become the only business of the former Prime Minister. "I pass my days and nights in the Vatican," he wrote in December, 1874, to the Duke of Argyll. "Already the Pope has given me two months of incessant correspondence and other hard work, and it may very well last two more. Nor is the work pleasant; but I am as far as possible from repenting of it. It is full of intense interest. . . . Every post brings me a mass of general reading, writing, or both . . . all my time is absorbed. But the subject is well worth

the pains."[1] And Church wrote to Lord Blachford on January 11, 1875: "Gladstone breakfasted with us yesterday. He is still boiling with anti-Vatican fury. He is still in correspondence with Döllinger, and takes great interest in the prospects of religion, and also, I think, in the political prospects of his party. He insists that the *Guardian* should reserve a special place for the ecclesiastical affairs of Germany."[2] The new controversialist felt himself upheld and roused by the noisy approbations which he received from the mass of Protestant opinion. Bismarck, to whom he had taken care to send one of the first copies of his pamphlet, sent him a letter of thanks. On the other hand, this success cost him the loss of many friendships. "To-day," he said, "I have not a friend in Ireland. I alienated all my Protestant friends by disestablishing their Church, and by my pamphlets all my Catholic friends except one, and he is a Bishop, who, though venturing to correspond with me, is afraid lest his name should become known.[3] With few exceptions, my Catholic friends in England stand aloof from me. Even Lady Georgiana Fullerton has ceased her wonted visits to this house."[4]

And what was the result of all this excitement? However English public opinion may have been aroused, it took no vexatious measures against Catholics, which no one desired, and Gladstone least of all. Moreover, his energies were soon diverted into another channel. A year had hardly passed before he was violently attacking "The Bulgarian Atrocities," so that now, instead of the Pope,

[1] Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. ii., p. 520.
[2] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 246.
[3] Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry.
[4] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 487.

it was the "Turk" against whom he fulminated. Of so many denunciations of Vaticanism and of the political situation in which Catholics were placed by the proclamation of infallibility nothing remained. The English public, on the contrary, grew daily more and more accustomed to see these very Catholics, formerly proscribed, or at the least suspected, taking their share of common liberty and social life. Gladstone himself, forgetting his indignation, recovered the justice and generosity natural to him in their regard. In 1890 he proposed to abolish the disabilities which forbade a Catholic to be Lord Chancellor of England or Viceroy of Ireland. And some years later, in 1895, when Leo XIII.'s letter, *Ad Anglos*, awakened hopes of a reconciliation between the Anglican and Roman Churches, he declared, in a public memorial, the necessity of union, and rendered homage "to the language and conduct" of the "First Bishop of Christendom." He said: "His is a paternal attitude in the widest sense of the word, and although it is one of the last souvenirs of my life, I will always cherish its precious memory with the tenderest sentiments of respect, gratitude, and high esteem."

CHAPTER VIII

THE TWO CARDINALS

I. Manning as Cardinal—His pastoral zeal—His eagerness to co-operate with non-Catholics in social and philanthropic work—He founds a Temperance League—His membership of the Metaphysical Society—His relations with statesmen—This attitude modifies the notion that had hitherto been formed in regard to him. II. Manning attempts to found a Catholic University at Kensington—Its complete failure—Nevertheless, he still remains opposed to Catholics going to the national Universities—Permission to do so is only given after his death. III. Newman shuts himself up in the retirement to which suspicions have driven him—He publishes nothing new, but issues revised editions of his former works—His welcome to visitors who come to see him—His relations with Church—Reception given to him by Trinity College, which elects him an Honorary Fellow—His attempt to convert Pusey during the latter's illness—His explanation of the non-conversion of certain well-intentioned souls—His influence to be traced in all the conversions that take place. IV. Death of Pius IX. and election of Leo XIII.—English Catholics solicit Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate—The Pope is favourably inclined—How Newman receives the offer—The news is officially announced to him. V. Newman's gratitude and emotion—Satisfaction of English Catholics—The numerous addresses to Newman, and his replies—This satisfaction is shared by Englishmen who are not Catholics. VI. Newman goes to Rome—The Pope's reception of him—The new Cardinal's discourse—He is retained by attacks of malaria—He is received, on his return to England, with further demonstrations.

I

IN March, 1875, Manning was summoned to Rome to receive the Cardinal's hat from Pius IX., who thus rewarded his eminent services and more closely asso-

ciated in the government of the Church a prelate of whose views he so highly approved. On his return to London, all Catholics, Newman included, hastened to offer their congratulations to the new Prince of the Church. Even Protestants appreciated the honour shown to a countryman. "I believe," wrote one to Manning, "that there are few Englishmen, whatever their religious opinions, who will not esteem it a high compliment to their country that you have been called to fill so exalted a station."[1] Newman, who recollected the No-Popery clamour with which Wiseman, in similar circumstances, had formerly been greeted, remarks on this contrast in his letter of congratulation to the Cardinal.[2]

I have already pointed out, when relating Manning's promotion to the See of Westminster, the skill and zeal with which he entered upon his task. His new dignity only spurred him on to still greater activity. He preached more frequently than ever, gave lectures, contributed to the reviews, and wrote books, generally on topical matters, as befitted a man of action, even when occupied in teaching doctrine. "I have tried," he wrote towards the end of his life, "to use pen, ink, and English as means to an end." He disclaims having ever had the least literary ambition; he "could not endure to spend time in rewriting and polishing." He says "he wrote words to express the thoughts in his mind, without reflection on

[1] Letter of Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 543).

[2] "As regards the Protestant world," wrote Newman, "it is striking to observe the contrast between the circumstances under which you return invested with this special dignity and the feelings which were excited in England twenty-five years ago on occasion of the like elevation of your predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman" (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 540).

form or style."[1] The more effectually to influence public opinion, he published articles in non-Catholic reviews and addressed letters to the leading newspapers, in which he was mainly concerned in upholding the rights of the Holy See. Sometimes, however, he treated of spiritual or edifying subjects, such as the "Mission of the Holy Ghost" or the "Sacred Heart." Solicitude for the souls of children, which he had shown from the very beginning of his Episcopate, led him to combat the principle of secular education, introduced into the English House of Commons in 1870. Earnest in promoting denominational education, he took an influential part in the efforts made to rouse public opinion against the measure, and he was soon summoned by the Government to take a seat on the Royal Commission charged to inquire into this matter.

All this was quite in keeping with his conduct hitherto. What was new was his no longer confining himself to purely religious questions, but eagerly seizing on all occasions of associating himself with the philanthropic or economic enterprises which interested his Protestant or unbelieving fellow-countrymen. He began in 1871 by joining the Mansion House Committee for the relief of the starving poor of Paris during the siege. A little later he spoke in meetings assembled for the foundation of new hospitals, and presided at the International Prison Congress. On the latter occasion he said:

"When I was called upon to preside over this meeting, I felt it my duty to do so as neutrally as possible. That is to say, holding a profound conviction that on all those occasions which laid on my conscience a public duty I am bound to be as outspoken—I may say as explicit and

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 719.

determined—in expressing what I believe as my office requires, so on all other occasions, when I am not bound to make these declarations or to bear these testimonies, I desire to identify myself with the majority of those whom I love and respect. But outside the circle and the pale of that one subject, I know of no other relating to our political, our social, our industrial welfare, in which it is not in my power to work with the same energy and the same entire devotion of heart and feeling as any other man in England."

Manning believed that he served his Church by this line of action. He thought that by this means he would bring Catholics out of their isolation. Certain narrow minds, slaves of routine, were often shocked, but the Archbishop would not be turned from his end. Later on, when reviewing this part of his life, he wrote in his diary: "I hope that I may have helped to bring the Catholic Church once more into open relations with the people and public opinion of England. We are as much known and recognized as if we were known to the law, which absurdly ignores us."[1] In a note written for his own eye alone, and found after his death, he complained that Catholics had not done all they ought. He proves that all the great works of charity undertaken in England—the Anti-Slavery Campaign, Temperance Leagues, Acts to protect children and girls, shop assistants, overworked railway-men, animals—had their beginning outside the Church: that they were the work of Anglicans and Dissenters, and hardly a Catholic name was to be found in their reports. Manning adds: "Surely we are in the sacristy. It is not that our Catholics deliberately refuse, but partly they do not take pains to know, partly they are

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 678.

prejudiced—'Can any good thing come from Nazareth?'—partly they are suspicious—'Who knows it is not a proselytizing affair?'—and, finally, they live on easily, unconscious that Lazarus lies at their gate full of sores. I pray God that when a better man comes into my place he will go and see with his own eyes, that my place may not remain empty. If he will do this, the English people will know him and trust him, and seek his presence and help in their own works with a sensible confidence and goodwill. Surely we are bound to work with them in everything that is not contrary to faith or morals."[1]

Among all works of philanthropy, that dearest to Manning's heart was the crusade against drunkenness. He had witnessed with horror and sadness the ravages of this vice, especially among the Irish members of his flock, and from the time he was made Archbishop had tried to revive Father Mathew's Temperance League, which had languished since the death of its founder. His efforts resulted in the foundation of the League of the Cross in 1872. Its members, following his example, took the pledge to abstain from intoxicating drink. Although at the outset he was but feebly supported, and even more or less openly opposed by some of his clergy, the Archbishop devoted himself with ardour to the propagation of the League, addressing the multitudes in any kind of public building, and even in the open air. "My courage does not grow less," he wrote to one of his friends, at a time when a letter criticizing the League had appeared in the *Tablet*, "for if we were ever on God's side in a battle it is now, when we are using—*i.e.*, giving up—our Christian liberty for the salvation of souls. If others think to save

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 781, 782.

more souls by using their liberty to drink wine, let us wait for the Last Day. I have borne years of reproval and shame in this matter, and I often say, 'I am a fool for Christ's sake.' . . . God forbid that we, Catholic priests, should be left behind in self-denial for the love of souls by those who are not in the Unity of the Truth."[1] Soon the League counted its adherents by thousands. Manning had borrowed from the Salvation Army, whose influence he was far from despising, something of its dramatic and military form. In 1874 he inaugurated the great annual Festival of the League, at which the members assembled at the Crystal Palace, and, forming an immense procession, marched through the streets with banners, brass bands, and ornamental sashes. The Cardinal marched in the midst of them, protected by his "bodyguard," specially chosen that he might not be overcrowded by the enthusiastic multitudes. They were decorated with a red sash as uniform, and soon became famous as the Cardinal's "bodyguard." The procession halted at certain places, when the Archbishop delivered a discourse, which was received with a frenzy of applause, and his pale, delicately-chiselled ascetic face formed a curious contrast with the rough, ruddy faces of the workmen who surrounded him. It mattered not that some were shocked at seeing a Prince of the Church take part in these popular demonstrations; he treated this pious horror as a kind of Pharisaism, and his faith in, and zeal for, total abstinence grew stronger every day. Even when he was old and infirm he would not consent to the request of his doctors, who urged him to take a little brandy or wine. It was of no consequence to him to live a few days longer, for he

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 600

said, "If the poor workmen of London knew that the old Cardinal drank a little wine, they would think themselves authorized to keep up the habit of taking strong drink." He went so far as to say on one occasion, "If I had not taken the pledge, I would not dare to appear before my Creator."[1] In 1877, when he thought himself on the point of death, one of his happiest thoughts was that "we had saved many poor drunkards."[2]

It was not only in philanthropic undertakings that Manning sought to collaborate with his fellow-countrymen of every creed. He frequented intellectual gatherings which would have astonished his Roman friends. Such were the meetings of the Metaphysical Society, founded in 1869 by a few Theists, whose first object was to combat Atheism. This society had, in order to give wider scope to its discussions, opened its doors, not only to all schools of believers, but also to their most determined opponents. Side by side with Christian statesmen like Gladstone or Lord Selborne, Anglican clergymen of every shade like Church, Stanley, or Maurice, and Unitarians like Martineau, were sceptics like Mark Pattison or Grant Duff; Agnostics like Huxley, Tyndall, or Morley, and open Atheists like Clifford. Five Catholics were members—Manning, Ward, Dalgairns, Mivart, and T. R. Gasquet. The monthly meetings were preceded by dinner; then the discussions began, on some paper printed beforehand. The discussions were courteous but free, and at them Christian believers had to listen to the most audacious denials of their faith. In spite of this, Manning remained a member of the society until its dissolution in 1880, and wrote several papers for it.

[1] J. Lemire, *Le Cardinal Manning et son Action Sociale*, p. 84.
[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 603.

The Archbishop was not less careful in keeping up friendly relations with statesmen, and in this felt himself at ease, because of his tastes and aptitudes. Not that he meddled with matters purely political; he only intervened when some religious interest, whether internal or external, seemed to him to be at stake. Besides the immediate advantage which the Church might derive from the settlement of this or that question, he strove in a general way to find occasions to weaken the barrier which had hitherto kept Catholics out of public life, to proclaim that they also were interested in public matters, and that they constituted a power with which Governments and parties alike had to reckon. His old friendship with Gladstone helped to bring this about. When these relations were interrupted for a time, during the controversy on Vaticanism, he found no difficulty in entering into relations with Disraeli and other statesmen of the Tory party. They appreciated his superior abilities, and recognized that he was a power. Thus, in 1877, he was requested by an intermediary[1] to draw up for them a *Note* on the Roman question, which was afterwards communicated to the French Government. In it he recalled that the Pope could not, of his own will, cede any of his rights, but at the same time he showed that a foreign intervention in view of restoring the Temporal Power of the Holy See was impossible and perilous, that no restoration of the kind was possible except *mediante populi Italici voluntate*, and that from Italy alone, once it was delivered from the fear of armed intervention, could come a solution which would be satisfactory both to the Church and to that country. These views were much less absolute than those

[1] The intermediary was Sir John Pope Hennessy.—TRANSLATOR.

which Manning formerly held in regard to the Temporal Power, and when the *Note* became known at Rome, those whom the Archbishop himself called *intransigente* thought that it savoured suspiciously of *conciliazione.*[1] As we shall see later, Manning's views upon this matter had not as yet reached their full development.

Manning gradually succeeded in changing the idea his Protestant fellow-countrymen had formed of him when he appeared merely as the champion, at times aggressive, of unpopular causes. He now seemed different: one whose character was more English, who won the favour of the masses by his philanthropic zeal, who figured in the intellectual world, and with whom politicians had to reckon. A great point in his favour was, as a Protestant has remarked, "that, however Ultramontane in his theology, he always spoke and wrote as an Englishman on non-theological subjects."[2] The committee of the Athenæum Club had elected him a member. He gladly went there, and delighted in conversing with writers such as Ruskin, with politicians of every party, or with former University companions, now dignitaries of the Established Church. At Oxford his name was held in honour. In 1876, at the solemn opening of the new Hall at Balliol, Jowett, the Master of the College, after having welcomed the old Balliol men present, spoke of the absent, among whom he specially mentioned three converts, Oakeley, Ward, and Manning:

"Though unable to be present on this occasion, they have promised a visit at some future time. They were separated from us by a strange fate thirty years ago.

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 522-524.

[2] *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, by J. A. Bryce, p. 258.

They have not forgotten us, nor have we forgotten them. One of them has become the most distinguished person of his Communion in this country. But when they left the Church of England they gave up all worldly prospects of advancement, and went out not knowing whither they went. There is a story related of Dr. Johnson that when a change of faith was told him of any of his friends he used to exclaim, 'God bless him!' And such is our feeling. There are many opposite opinions amongst us, but there is but one common sentiment—we were all educated at Balliol."[1]

In the administrative sphere, both at the Mansion House and in the Public Departments, it was taken for granted that Manning had his place on every Commission dealing with social problems. His presence sometimes raised a question of precedence, unheard of since the Reformation. Should the Cardinal keep the rank which belonged to him in a Catholic country—that is to say, as following a Prince of the blood? The question was not formally decided, but, as a matter of fact, it was recognized that, at least as a matter of courtesy, and with the consent of the Prince of Wales, he should have the precedence of the Anglican Bishops. This was certainly progress since the time when the Catholic priest was only singled out for political and civil disabilities!

In one of his novels, *Endymion*, published in 1880, Disraeli, who had become Lord Beaconsfield in 1876, drew the following portrait of one of the characters—the Archbishop Nigel Penruddock. It is generally understood that Manning was his model:

"Nigel Penruddock had obtained great celebrity as a preacher, while his extreme doctrines and practices had

[1] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. ii., p. 102.

alike amazed, fascinated, and alarmed a large portion of the public. . . . Now he was changed. Instead of that anxious and moody look which formerly marred the refined beauty of his countenance, his glance was calm and yet radiant. He was thinner—it might almost be said emaciated—which seemed to add height to his tall figure. . . . Instead of avoiding society, as was his wont in old days, the Archbishop sought it. And there was nothing exclusive in his social habits; all classes and all creeds, all conditions and orders of men, were alike interesting to him; they were part of the mighty community, with all whose pursuits, and passions, and interests and occupations, he seemed to sympathize, but respecting which he had only one object—to bring them back once more to that imperial fold from which in an hour of darkness and distraction they had miserably wandered. . . . So the Archbishop was seen everywhere, even at fashionable assemblies. He was a frequent guest at banquets which he never tasted, for he was a smiling ascetic; and though he seemed to be preaching or celebrating High Mass in every part of the metropolis, organizing schools, establishing convents, and building cathedrals, he could find time to move philanthropic resolutions at middle-class meetings, attend learned associations, and even occasionally send a paper to the Royal Society."

But if Manning frequented any non-Catholic society which he thought likely to help forward the position of the Catholic Church in England, he was, nevertheless, anything but a worldly prelate, and on this point some features in the portrait painted by the author of *Endymion* need correcting. He had made it a rule for himself to live an altogether ecclesiastical life, and thus explained his conduct in a note of his diary in 1881:

"Into the private life and homes of the non-Catholic English I have hardly, if ever, entered for these thirty years. Even into the homes of Catholics very seldom. I have lived among my priests and my poor. When I go

from London it is always to the homes of my colleagues; when for work in any place, always to the houses of the priests, however poor, rather than to lay houses. I have done this intentionally, because if the laity have two parts in me, the priests have ten. It has seemed to me to be my duty to be at headquarters and to keep myself for my clergy. . . . I have no doubt that I should have been more popular if I had dined out and gone from house to house. But I am sure I should have been less of a pastor, little as I am. No man could have been more exiled and shut out of English life, private and public, than I was thirty years ago. I have returned to it in some remote ways; but if I have any hold on the English people it will only be as I have gained it by mixing among them in their good works, and by writing."[1]

This idea he had so much at heart that he returned to it again shortly before his death:

"I have not lived in society, but among my priests, and for my people. . . . If I had gone out into society, I could have done little. My time would have been wasted. My evenings lost. I should have pleased a few and offended many. . . . I have no doubt that I have been unpopular and have disappointed many, but I believe they would have trusted me less, and in their troubles would not come to see me as they do now. And I feel sure that my priests would have felt that I was less to them, and my poor would have thought me less their friend and pastor. My only contacts with the world have been public and for work, and especially for the poor and the people."[2]

II

Able as Manning was, he did not succeed in all his undertakings. His opposition to young Catholics frequenting the national Universities and to Newman's plans have already been alluded to. He steadily kept up this opposi-

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 677. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 800, 801.

tion, although it seemed little in keeping with what was now his chief solicitude—to bring Catholics out of their isolation. In vain had the old "tests," one after another, been suppressed at Oxford and Cambridge; there was no longer need to profess Anglicanism in order to matriculate, to take a degree, or to become a "Fellow." In vain did Catholics daily manifest more and more clearly their desire that their children should go to the Universities, less to gain a superior degree of culture, which, strictly speaking, might be acquired elsewhere, than to receive that social training and form those connections which were really the only means of entering English society. Manning never wavered, and obtained from Rome, in 1872, a ratification of the former prohibitions.

The Archbishop, nevertheless, clearly saw that he could not keep up this negative attitude. He felt that he ought to meet the requirements of Catholics for higher education, and to show that, if he prevented them from going to Oxford or Cambridge, he had something to offer them instead. He had given them to understand from the outset that the creation of an exclusively Catholic centre of higher studies would solve the problem. Nothing could be better, but how was it to be done? As far back as 1864 he had advocated the foundation in Rome of an "Academia" for young Catholics of the upper classes,[1] but it was difficult to expect parents readily to send their sons to Italy. From objections made on all sides he realized that the foundation must be made on English soil. He therefore proposed to his colleagues of the Episcopate, in 1873, to found a "College for Higher Studies" at Kensington. The Bishops, always docile to

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 378-381.

his authority, accepted the plan. The money was collected, and the College was opened in a precipitate manner, ill-suited to a work of the kind, in October, 1874.

To win the confidence of families who favoured Oxford and Cambridge, and were not disposed to accept a substitute of this improvised kind, was not an easy task. It would have been more prudent to interest them in the new establishment by giving them a share in its direction. But Manning thought that all powers should be in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities—that is, in his own. Although he consented to the conciliatory proposal of Dr. Ullathorne, to constitute a Senate on which there should be two laymen from each diocese, this Senate only existed in theory. Its first meeting was practically its last, as the Archbishop would not allow any independent line of action to be taken. It was necessary, moreover, that the head of such a University should have such competence and prestige as to inspire confidence in the new undertaking. Such a one existed in John Henry Newman; but it was not to be expected that Manning would approve of him. In default of Newman, the co-operation of the Jesuits might have insured its success. For some time past that religious body had itself contemplated founding a superior school, and numbered some distinguished teachers; but the Archbishop was not more favourable to them, and was determined not to utilize their services. He hoped to safeguard his authority by the appointment of Mgr. Capel, a fashionable preacher, very popular in society, but without any University experience or scientific authority, as the head of his College.

The consequences soon became apparent. In vain was

the assistance of several able professors secured. The number of students did not exceed forty-four, and soon dwindled to twelve. Manning himself acknowledged that, from the point of view of instruction, the results were but mediocre, and the moral influences to which their residence in London exposed the students were so unsatisfactory that leading Catholics declared to the Archbishop that they could no longer advise parents to send their sons to the College. The financial situation soon became exceedingly embarrassed owing to the incompetency and unbusinesslike methods of Mgr. Capel. When asked to produce proper accounts he was unable to show any. He had to be dismissed, and the Archbishop was obliged to pay, out of his own purse, ten thousand pounds of a debt on the University, while Mgr. Capel was bankrupt on his own private school, owing twenty-eight thousand pounds. In vain did Manning try to continue the College at Kensington by reducing the number of lectures; he was obliged, after a very short time, to renounce the attempt, and in 1878 all that remained of his University was the memory of a painful failure and a series of recriminations and disputes between the Archbishop and Mgr. Capel, which lasted several years, and were only brought to an end by a decision of the Holy See.

This failure did not induce Manning to abate any of his opposition to the frequentation of the national Universities and the establishment of a Catholic Mission at Oxford, as contemplated by Newman. Up to his last hour he persisted in this, and imposed his views on the religious authorities. After the death of Pius IX., Newman, who had been made a Cardinal by Leo XIII., tried to profit by the removal of suspicions from himself to occasion

others to begin the work of the apostolate and of the protection of the Catholic youths at Oxford, which had been the desire of his whole Catholic life, and which his age would not now allow him to undertake. In 1882 he wrote on this subject to Lord Braye, who had questioned him:

"The cardinal question for the moment is the Oxford Question. . . . The Undergratuates and Junior Fellows are sheep without a shepherd. They are sceptics or inquirers, quite open for religious influences. It is a moment for the Catholic Mission in Oxford to seize an opportunity which may never come again. The Jesuits have Oxford men and able men among them. I doubt not that they are doing (as it is) great good there; but I suppose they dread the dislike and suspicion which every forward act of theirs would rouse; but is it not heart-piercing that this opportunity should be lost? The Liberals are sweeping along in triumph, without any Catholic or religious influence to stem them. This is what I feel at the moment, but, alas! it is only one out of the various manifestations of what may be called Nihilism in the Catholic body and its rulers. They forbid, but they do not direct or create. I should fill many sheets of paper if I continued my exposure of this fact, so I pass on to my second thought. The Holy Father must be put up to this fact, and must be made to understand this state of things with us. And I think he ought to do this: he should send here some man of the world, impartial enough to take in two sides of a subject—not a politician or one who would be thought to have anything to do with politics. Such a person should visit (not a 'visitorial' visit) all parts of England, and he should be able to talk English. He should be in England a whole summer. Now, how is the Pope to be persuaded to do this? By some Englishman in position—if one or two, so much the better. They should talk French and Italian, and remain in Rome some months. This would be the first step."[1]

[1] This letter was first published in the *Tablet* of May 20, 1905.

Lord Braye read this letter to Leo XIII., but Manning, who went to Rome in 1883, again obtained the confirmation of the former prohibitions. They were renewed in January, 1885, by a letter of Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and the Archbishop of Westminster published in the same year a letter *On the Office of the Church in Higher Catholic Education.* He maintained in this letter that Catholics had no need to go to Oxford or Cambridge, since they could take their degrees at the University of London while studying in the Catholic colleges. "The frequentation of the State Universities by our youths is," he said, "an incalculable source of peril for the Catholic laity, an obstacle to the progress of studies in our colleges, and an evil for the Catholic Church in England."

It was clear, then, that no change was to be expected in this matter while Manning was alive. But immediately after his death, Cardinal Vaughan, his successor, in spite of his own personal views, was obliged to yield to the pressure of the English Catholics, and, at his suggestion, Rome has removed the prohibition to frequent the Universities. Since that time young Catholics have been able to go to Oxford or Cambridge without incurring the censure of the ecclesiastical authorities. It has not even been thought necessary to found a special hall or college for them, and it is deemed preferable to let them mix freely with the students in the various colleges. Care has been taken to carry out Newman's plan, and constitute a centre of religious life and teaching with a resident chaplain; but it has been proved by experience that the evils dreaded by Manning have not occurred. The faith of the young Catholic students, far from being weakened by

their coming in contact with companions of other creeds, has rather been strengthened than otherwise. Events have justified Newman, in reparation to whose name the Debating Society founded by Catholic Undergraduates at Oxford has been named the "Newman Society." During his life Newman had been hindered by deplorable prejudices from exercising the guardianship of the University youths to which he would have so willingly devoted himself; it was only just that after his death they should accord especial honour to his memory.

III

While Manning, now a Cardinal, was winning fame and authority, Newman remained under a cloud which certain suspicions had cast over him. An article in the *Dublin Review*, when enumerating the Catholics who had distinguished themselves as men of letters, omitted his name. Newman bore this effacement without public expression of bitterness, and felt some consolation in no longer taking part in the controversies of the day. More than ever his thoughts were directed towards the unseen. The dreadful prospects of death and judgment, which he had always kept present to his mind, became more and more vivid as he advanced in age. On February 21, 1875, his seventy-fourth birthday, he wrote:

"A birthday is a very sad day at my age, or rather I should say a solemn day. When I call it sad, it is when it brings before me the number of friends who have gone before me. . . . I think what makes me low is the awful thought that where my lost departed friends are, there I must be; and that they can and do rejoice in their trial and judgment being over, whereas I am still on trial, and

have judgment to come. The idea of a judgment is the first principle of religion, as being involved in the sentiment of conscience, and as life goes on it becomes very overpowering. . . . The more one has received, the more one has to answer for. We can but throw ourselves on the mercy of God, of which one's whole life is a long experience."

Newman had so far retired from public life that he published no new works. On the publication of his *Grammar of Assent* in 1870, he spoke of it as his last long work, remarking that at his age it would be imprudent to begin anything of the kind. Similarly, five years later, in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, he declared, in two different passages, that this would be his last controversial work. Even his muse had grown silent since the *Dream of Gerontius*. At most, following the natural inclination of the old to look back to the past, he continued the republication of his works written before his conversion. They began to be reissued in 1868, and were continued until 1881. He explains in one of his prefaces how and why he did this work:

"It stands to reason that these volumes must contain various statements which I am sorry to have made, and which I reproduce at the present time not without pain. Gladly would I obliterate them, but that cannot be; and I have only the alternative of publishing them afresh with what I consider a refutation, or leaving them unanswered to the chance of publication by others at some future time. I have chosen to republish them myself, and perhaps it would be some want of faith in the Truth, or some over-appreciation of my own controversial powers, if I had any dread lest my present explanations in behalf of the Catholic Religion could be inferior in cogency to the charges which I once brought against it. As I said in 1871, in the Advertisement to my *Essays:* 'The author

cannot destroy what he has once put into print: *Litera scripta manet.* He might suppress it for a time, but, sooner or later, his power over it will cease. And then, if it is, either in its matter or its drift, adapted to benefit the cause which it was intended to support at the time when it was given to the world, it will be republished, in spite of his later disavowal of it. In order to anticipate the chance of its being thus used after his death, the only way open to him is, while living, to show why it has ceased to approve itself to his own judgment.'"[1]

Newman the Catholic revising and correcting Newman the Tractarian is of moving interest. For some of his works—as, for instance, the two volumes entitled *Via Media*, which contain controversial writings dating from 1830 to 1841—this correction was a laborious task. In his other works—notably in nearly all his sermons—he found, with joyful surprise, that he could detect "no very serious error."[2]

In his retirement Newman received numerous visits from old friends and new, and from unknown persons whose troubled consciences needed direction. Many of those who had never seen him, and who in religious matters seemed farthest away from him, felt a sort of mysterious attraction which made them desire to approach him. "I envy you your opportunity of seeing and hearing Newman," wrote George Eliot to one of her friends, "and I should like to make an expedition to Birmingham with that sole end."[3] He was easy of access to all who needed him. He only made an exception in the case of vulgar curiosity; he then showed himself firm and distant. His reserve was more freezing than any rebuff.

[1] Preface of the 1877 edition of the *Via Media.*
[2] Preface to the third edition of *University Sermons.*
[3] *Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 77.

He had a frigidly ironical way of discouraging indiscreet questions. "Serious complications in Rome, Father?" a Member of Parliament once asked him, wishing to surprise him into some admission as to the Roman Question. "Yes, and in China," answered Newman in the most tranquil tone.[1] Apart from these special cases his manner was full of that good grace which had formerly fascinated the members of the Oriel Common Room. Even his opponents, when they had occasion to visit him, were well received. One of them declared on leaving him "that he had passed, in his company, one of the most delightful hours of his life."[2] The truth was that, although for the moment he was most keenly sensitive to wounds, and although at times, under the pressure of certain attacks, he retorted with deadly effect—as, for instance, in his reply to the outrageous accusations of Kingsley, which grew into the *Apologia*—nevertheless, nothing was more foreign to his nature than long-cherished resentments. When, in January, 1875, he heard of Kingsley's death, he wrote:

"The death of Mr. Kingsley, so premature, shocked me. I never from the first have felt any anger towards him. . . . Much less could I feel any resentment against him when he was accidentally the instrument, in the good Providence of God, by whom I had an opportunity given me of vindicating my character and conduct. I heard, too, a few years back, from a friend that he chanced to go into Chester Cathedral, and found Mr. Kingsley preaching about me kindly, and it has rejoiced me to observe lately that he was, it seemed to me, in his views generally nearing the Catholic view. I have always hoped that, by good luck, I might meet him, feeling sure that there

[1] *Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfred Meynell, p. 75.
[2] *Ibid.*, by Jennings, p. 138.

would be no embarrassment on my part, and I said Mass for his soul as soon as I heard of his death."[1]

Among the most welcome visitors to Edgbaston were some of Newman's former Anglican friends, with whom, after a more or less prolonged interruption, he had again entered into friendly relations. They had cordial conversations, where, on both sides, the past was lived over again. The dearest of all these visitors was Church, who since 1871 had been Dean of St. Paul's. Sometimes, when he was obliged to visit London, Newman enjoyed going to see the Dean, and used to remain some days with him, happy in the affection shown him, charming everyone by his gaiety and good grace. Some years later Church wrote, at the end of one of these visits: "We had three days of the Cardinal. He was so bright, so kind, so affectionate; very old and soon tired, but also soon refreshed with a pause of rest, and making fun of his old age. He was quite alive to all that is passing round him, though cautious and reticent, as he should be so. But the old smile and twinkle of the eye are still there, and all seemed to belong to the old days. . . ."[2] The grateful tenderness and admiration of Church for the old master whom he had not followed had a unique character, and was shared by his family. "By those near the Dean," wrote his daughter, "it was always recognized that *Newman* was a name apart—the symbol, as it were, of a debt too great and a friendship too intimate and complex to bear being lightly spoken of or subjected to the ordinary measures of praise or blame. Where agreement

[1] *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Progress*, by Fitzgerald, vol. ii., p. 260.

[2] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 321.

was not possible, the Dean seldom allowed himself any criticism, save that which was implied by silence."[1]

These short visits to the Deanery of St. Paul's were for the Anglican clergymen of a later generation the occasion of coming nearer, not without an emotional curiosity, to the man whose past impressed their imaginations and who had often influenced their minds. Returning from a meeting of this kind, Liddon wrote to one of his friends:

"On Monday I met Newman at dinner; and for the first time in my life. It was like coming into contact with the *fons et origo*—at least, of most of the great moral forces which we have known much about—in a concrete form. He, of course, was simple, and very interesting and studiously uncontroversial, without avoiding subjects that might have furnished matter for controversy. He had the Doctor's manner of significant silences as well as some other characteristics; he held his hands just as dear Keble used to—out on his knees, and close together, while talking, as if one or the other might run away. He was evidently up to everything that is going on among ourselves."[2]

It was not only in the intimacy of private gatherings that Newman came into friendly contact with Anglicans. The latter, forgetting the resentment they had at first shown towards the deserter, no longer hesitated to render him a public homage, which they were not displeased to contrast with the distrustful and sullen reserve of certain Catholics. In 1877 he was elected an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, in which he had begun his University

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 345. Another daughter of Dean Church, married to a high dignitary of the Anglican Church, has religiously kept in a locked desk, as in a kind of reliquary, a book given her by Newman, and the letters which he had written to her.

[2] *Life and Letters of H. P. Liddon*, p. 170.

studies. This gave him an opportunity of revisiting in February, 1878, that Oxford which it had cost him so much to leave in 1846, in consequence of his conversion. It will be remembered how in the *Apologia*, after having related his departure, he added this simple phrase which seems to veil a groan of anguish: "I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires, as they are seen from the railway." It does not appear that he ever returned there during the years which followed the publication of the *Apologia;* but it has become known that in 1868 he secretly made a pilgrimage to Littlemore.[1] The old parish clerk one day saw, very early in the morning, a man with head bowed down over the threshold of the church, crying bitterly, and was quite overcome on recognizing his former Vicar.[2] In 1878 Newman appeared openly at Oxford as the guest of the President of Trinity College. There, in his University robes, he dined in hall, the table being magnificently decorated for the occasion. Applauded and congratulated by all, he was accompanied to the Catholic Church by an eager crowd, desirous of hearing once more that voice which had formerly stirred and charmed the inhabitants of Oxford. He visited Keble College, founded in memory of his old friend, and had a long talk with Pusey at Christ Church. This was to be their last meeting.

However gratifying this renewal of old friendships, he could not help feeling the gulf that lay between them. Shortly after he heard that Pusey was dangerously ill. He was greatly affected. He had long since renounced

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 489.

[2] This fact has been related in the newspapers, after the death of the clerk (*cf.* the *Daily Chronicle*, July 8, 1899).

all hopes of his friend becoming a Catholic,[1] but nevertheless thought it his duty, at all costs, to make another attempt, and he wrote the following touching letter to Liddon, who had informed him of Pusey's illness:

"Your letter, so kindly sent me, has of course troubled me much. I fear Pusey cannot last long, and I am troubled, first on that account, and next as to my own duty under that anticipation. I know you will give me credit for honesty and simplicity of purpose, as I do you. If his state admits of it, I should so very much wish to say to my dearest Pusey, whom I have loved and admired for above fifty years, that the Catholic Roman Church solemnly lays claim to him as her child, and to ask him in God's sight whether he does not acknowledge her right to do so. . . . Should he make a simple avowal of his confidence in the Anglican Church, as part of the Church Catholic, at least I should gain this comfort from it, that he died in simple good faith. I cannot let him die, if such is God's will, with the grave responsibility lying upon me of such an appeal to him as I suggest; and since I cannot make it myself, I must throw that responsibility on someone else who is close to him as you are; and this I do. Oh! what a world is this, and how piercing are its sorrows!"

Liddon answered Newman's letter the following day by the news that Pusey was better. After some details he continued: "I told him that you had asked for him, and he desired me to write you 'a loving message.' But I did not say more about the contents of your letter. He has not a shadow of a doubt as to the consistency of his position with the Revealed Will of God." Then, after stating several facts in support of this assertion, he added:

[1] I have already had occasion to indicate the reasons for which Pusey was by nature disinclined for a change of this kind.

"I mention these things only, as you will believe, to show you how completely his mind is at rest on the main question, though he is, of course, very keenly alive to the evils which result from the language and action of living authorities in the Church of England. When the Athanasian Creed was attacked, four years ago, he had made up his mind, if it was withdrawn from use, to resign his preferments; but he had no thought so far as I know, of secession. He always of late spoke as though the Definition of the Immaculate Conception and the Vatican Council had made that step *impossible*. You will, I am sure, forgive the explicitness with which I write this; but you would, I think, say yourself that his clear and strong convictions were inconsistent with his being anything than an English Churchman. Yet his vivid sense of the fundamental unities which bind the whole Body of Christ into one always made him speak of Rome in tender and respectful language, and without the conventional asperities of Anglican controversialists."

Pusey recovered from this illness. Death did not carry him off until four years later, when he was found to be equally attached to his Church.

This persistence of Pusey and of others dear to him in remaining in schism was not only a trial to Newman's feelings, but led him to question his own mind as to the mystery of the designs of Providence. He explains his own views on the subject in a letter to a man who must have come more or less under Pusey's influence.[1] Starting from the idea "that a great and Divine work was being accomplished in the Anglican Church," and from the fact that this "Divine work" up to the present time had not appeared to result either in a reunion of that Church with the true Church or in the individual conversion of men

[1] This letter was published in the *Dublin Review* of January, 1906, in an article, written by Mr. W. S. Lilly, entitled "Anglicanism, Old and New."

who were nevertheless excellent and sincere, he recognized that the question arose, "What in the Divine plan was the object of this work? For a Divine work cannot fail." Then he adds:

"I grant the high religious excellence of men such as you name. Far be it from me to assert that they have in wilfulness shut their eyes to light which has been granted them, and which would have led them on into the Catholic Church, and have thereby forfeited heaven; but we must look at ourselves individually, not at others. Recollect, there is an election of grace. Some, and not all, are elected for the privileges and blessings of the kingdom. We shall all be judged according to our opportunities. The question is whether you and I are called, not why others are not. 'We cannot be as they.' You ask, 'Is not the fact that certain good men are contented with the Church of England a proof that that Church is part of the Catholic Church? Since their virtues and various excellences must come from God, does not their teaching come from God also? Are they not raised up in order by their strong protests, such as have been made to you, to hinder souls from going to Rome?' This you seem to say; but surely there is another supposable reason for God's dealing with them. They are kept where they are, with no more light than they have, being Anglicans in good faith, in order gradually to prepare their hearers and readers, in greater numbers than would otherwise be possible, for the true and perfect faith, and to lead hearers or readers on in due season into the Catholic Church—the new wine in old bottles which otherwise would suffer. Again, were they themselves all to feel it their duty to become Catholics at once, the work of conversion would simply come to an end; there would be a reaction. They, then, like St. John the Baptist, make straight the way for Christ."

Failing Pusey, many were led to Catholicism by Newman. Reproach has often been cast upon him for leading so secluded a life. This was not due to any

egotism, but was really the effect of diffidence of self and others—a more or less unconscious result of the uncertainty in which he had been as to his own religious convictions. As a Catholic, his apostolic solicitude kindled, expanded, and grew confident. Doubtless it was not his place, any more than it was in his character, to go about the world in search of troubled souls; it was sufficient for him to wait and to receive with open arms those who were drawn towards him from all parts by a sort of mysterious attraction. Then, with what delicate and effective kindness did he not occupy himself about them, making them sensible of that mingled authority and fascination which he had always possessed to such an extraordinary degree! Many who could not, or dared not, go to him at the Oratory wrote to him, and he was ever punctilious in answering the letters that came to him by every post.

Even those who had no direct relations with Newman did not escape his influence. This influence was still being exercised, in spite of the silence and inaction to which he was apparently reduced, by his writings, which were read by each successive generation; by the ideas which had been, as it were, sown by him, and which were now germinating in all directions; by the example of his life; by the prestige of his name and of the famous moral drama of which he was the hero; and even by the very obscurity in which he lived, and which seems only to have added to his reputation. For it was no longer the case, as at other periods of his life—for instance, at the time of the Tractarian campaign—that he moved the minds of men by some unlooked-for impulse or violent outbreak. Now, on the contrary, there was something

much less visible and tangible — a more subtle and mysterious influence, but one which acted with continuous and penetrating force. One might say that between him and souls in trouble and in darkness a silent colloquy was being held, often unconsciously to himself, which betrayed itself by no external sign, but to which might be truly applied that motto, which he afterwards inscribed in his Cardinal's coat-of-arms: *Cor ad cor loquitur.*

Thus, there was hardly a single conversion to Catholicism during his long retirement at Edgbaston which could not be traced to his influence. When Lord Ripon, in September, 1874, came to the London Oratory to ask to be received into the Catholic Church, he attributed his conversion, which caused so much surprise in English society, to the writings of Newman. Mr. Gladstone, his political friend, was much affected by Lord Ripon's conversion. An English clergyman, Mr. Chapman, who made his abjuration some years later, relating the story of his conversion, wrote as follows: "I was continually reading Newman, and I never did so without feeling myself moved. His *Apologia* alone has influenced me to a degree which I myself cannot fathom. Once I was on the point of going to see him, but, at the last moment, my courage failed me. I felt that to go and expose to him my difficulties was probably to be set on my way to the solution of them, and I was not yet prepared for this. . . ."[1] Another convert related how, although he had read little of Newman, the thought that such a man had become a Catholic produced such a disturbance in his mind, and so pursued him like a phantom, that all the

[1] *L'Âme Anglicane*, p. 277.

explanations of his Anglican advisers could not dispel it.[1] Examples of this kind could be multiplied; suffice it to instance Kegan Paul, one of the leading London publishers, who, after having passed through the stages of Puseyism, Broad Church Latitudinarianism, and Positivism, had, after a prolonged crisis, at last arrived at Catholicism. Without being personally acquainted with the great Oratorian, he read his writings assiduously, and knew them as well as the Bible. "Newman," he said, "studied day by day, sank into my soul and changed it." It was a long work, and it was only on the day following Newman's death that Kegan Paul decided to take the last step. "The one bitter drop in a brimming cup of joy," he wrote, "was that Newman could not know all that he had done for me—that his was the hand which had drawn me on when I sought the ark floating on the stormy seas of the world. But a few days afterwards, as I knelt near his coffin at Edgbaston, and heard the Requiem Mass said for him, I felt that indeed he knew, that he was in a land where there was no need to tell him anything, for he sees all things in the heart of God."[2] Moreover, Kegan Paul was convinced that his own case was that of many others. "Because," he says, "the works of Newman have always been before the public, and because his saintly life has been known, he has continued, even in retirement, to exercise an extraordinary influence on men. . . . No intellectual conversion, in England and America, has taken place, during the twenty years of his retirement, wherein he has not borne a part,

[1] *The City of Peace*, by Those Who Have Entered It, p. 135.

[2] *Memories*, by Kegan Paul, pp. 364-376; "Confessio Viatoris," by the same, in the *Month* for August, 1891.

and when converts flew as doves to the windows, his has been the hand which drew them in."[1]

IV

Although Newman, in his old age and his retirement at Edgbaston, was so serene and noble a figure, and his influence upon souls remained so efficacious and salutary, yet it is painful to the historian to see a man who had done and sacrificed so much for the Church treated in this way; he cannot but deplore the loss of power to Catholicism and the advantage to Protestants which resulted from this mistake. More than ever did the words of the address signed by English Catholics in 1867 appear true: "Every blow which touches Newman inflicts a wound upon the Catholic Church in England." But the hour of reparation was at hand.

At the end of 1877, Manning, on his way to Italy, was stopped at Paris by illness, and was preparing to return to England, when he received from the Vatican most alarming news of the health of Pius IX. He at once set out for Rome, regardless of his own health, and arrived there on December 22. Welcomed by the Pope with his usual tenderness, and admitted to his presence several times a week, he followed closely the stages of the illness. On February 7, a message warned him that the end was near. He went in haste to the Vatican, found the Holy Father motionless, and, kneeling at his bedside, kissed his hand. The dying man recognized him, and murmured, "Addio carissimo." A few hours afterward Pius IX. was no more.

[1] Article published in the *New Review* shortly after Newman's death.

It is well known how rapidly the Conclave proceeded, and elected Leo XIII. on February 20, 1878. In the preliminary conversations, during which certain members of the Sacred College had mentioned the names of possible candidates for the tiara, Cardinal Bilio, to whom the composition of the Syllabus had been attributed, put forward the name of the Archbishop of Westminster. The matter went no further, however, for Manning himself was the first to oppose the idea, pointing out that the election of a foreigner might lose Italy to the Holy See.[1]

From the very first acts of the new Pontificate, the Catholic world began to be aware that a change had taken place—not, certainly, in anything which regarded what was unchangeable in doctrine, but in matters incidental to ecclesiastical policy. It seemed that a new spirit had penetrated into the Vatican, and that what had been impossible with Pius IX. was no longer so with his successor. English Catholics concluded from this that they ought to make some attempts in favour of Newman. They had long lamented the distrust with which their most illustrious representative was regarded, but they had given up the hope of obtaining anything from a Pontiff who had been so fatally prejudiced by the reports made to him. Did not the spirit which animated the new Pope give grounds to expect from him some act which might efface and, to a certain extent, repair the long-standing error of the past? The idea immediately spread that the most striking and satisfactory way of effecting this reparation would be to make Newman a Cardinal. But the difficulty was to make the suggestion to Rome. It was not usual for the laity to interfere in such matters. They finally

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 550, 551.

resolved to take the most straightforward course, and appeal to Manning himself. The two leading Catholic laymen in England, the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Ripon, accordingly sought an interview with the Cardinal, and in the name of their co-religionists expressed the widely and deeply felt desire that Father Newman should be raised to the dignity of Cardinal. As his biographer relates, Cardinal Manning, on hearing this proposal, bent his head and remained silent for some moments.[1] He could hardly hide from himself that this step implied a protest against a past for which he was responsible; but it also gave proof of a loyal deference to his authority and an honourable confidence in his generosity and large-mindedness. He quickly rose to the occasion, and offered to embody in a letter of his own to Cardinal Nina the substance of the statements which had been made to him by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Ripon, together with the reasons they had brought forward in support of their petition. A few days afterwards he forwarded to his noble visitors the letter in which he had summed up, without any concealment or alteration, all that they had said to him. After having recalled the services rendered by Newman, the letter added:

"The veneration for his powers, his learning, and his life of singular piety and integrity, is almost as deeply felt by the non-Catholic population of this country as by the members of the Catholic Church. In the rise and revival of Catholic Faith in England there is no one whose name will stand out in history with so great a prominence. Nevertheless, he has continued for thirty years without any token or mark of the confidence of the Holy See;

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 555.

and this apparent passing over of his great merits has been noted both among Catholics and non-Catholics as implying division among the faithful in England and some unexplained mistrust of Dr. Newman. It is obviously not only most desirable that this should be corrected, but obviously right that Dr. Newman should be cleared of any unjust suspicion."

The Archbishop afterwards pointed out how the elevation to the dignity of Cardinal had appeared to be the best manner to obtain such a result. "I have felt it to be a duty," he said in conclusion, "very grateful to myself, to convey to your Eminence this expression of the desire of the distinguished Catholic laymen in whose names I write, and of those whom they represent."[1] Manning could not have acquitted himself more nobly or more thoroughly of the mission with which he was charged. His letter was to be given to Cardinal Howard, who was on the point of going to Rome. But by some regrettable accident this letter, though written in July, had not yet reached its destination in December. The Duke of Norfolk, impatient at this delay, went in person to Rome, and submitted to His Holiness at a private audience the wishes of his fellow-countrymen, begging at the same time the support of the Archbishop. Manning at last sent his letter to Cardinal Nina.

Leo XIII. received the petition of the English Catholics all the more favourably as it appears that of his own accord he had had the same desire from the very beginning. Being asked by Monsieur de Rossi soon after his election, "What would be his policy as Pope?" he had answered, "Wait till you see my first Cardinal; that will show you what will be typical of my reign." It was

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 555, 556.

believed that in these words he was referring to Newman.[1] Newman himself, when treating of the subject at a later time, wrote: "After all, the most wonderful thing in the whole matter is the Pope's knowing me—he does not know English: he lived in retirement at Perugia. Yet from the first he took a definite and strong view of me, so that I cannot repeat all he has said."[2] Some years later, Lord Selborne, having had occasion to mention Newman's name during an audience with the Holy Father, Leo XIII.'s countenance lit up. "*My* Cardinal!" he said. "It was not easy; no, it was not easy. They said he was too liberal; but I was determined to honour the Church by honouring Newman. I have always felt a deep veneration for him. I am proud that it has been given me to honour such a man."[3]

At the end of January, 1879, some weeks after the Duke of Norfolk's audience, a letter was written by Cardinal Nina to Cardinal Manning, to the effect that Pope Leo XIII. had "intimated his desire to raise Dr. Newman to the rank of Cardinal." The Archbishop of Westminster charged Dr. Ullathorne, Newman's Bishop, to communicate the news to him. No task could have been more agreeable to the venerable Bishop of Birmingham, who had always shown the greatest esteem and affection towards this illustrious member of his flock.

Newman was much touched by the offer of the Holy Father, but also a little troubled. His age and his

[1] *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, edited by the Rev. W. P. Neville, pp. xiii, xiv.

[2] Letter of May 28, 1880 (*Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, p. 320).

[3] This account is taken from a letter written on January 26, 1888, immediately after the interview, and has been communicated to me by Lord Selborne's daughter.

solicitude for his dear Birmingham Oratory made him fear the obligation of residence in Rome, while at the same time his humility and his taste for simplicity and retirement were opposed to the publicity of such a distinction. Dr. Ullathorne affectionately over-ruled this objection, pointing out the desirable consequences this mark of honour would have. He laid stress on the fact that, "as bearing on his Catholic writings," it would give them a special weight, and would be on the Pope's part "the highest and most significant mark of confidence." "It would bring for ever to an end those idle and mischievous rumours, long kept up, that you have not the complete confidence of the Holy See." He added that the Pope, "whose chief desire was to give him a mark of esteem," would not require him to live in Rome unless it were his own desire.[1] In consequence of these representations, Dr. Newman showed himself willing to accept the dignity, but continued to express his repugnance to leave the Oratory and the hope that the Sovereign Pontiff would not require him to do so. Dr. Ullathorne forwarded his reply to Cardinal Manning, and Newman himself wrote to the Archbishop to the same effect in a short, private English letter and an official Latin answer.[2]

By a strange error, Manning interpreted Newman's reserves on the question of residence as a refusal of the Pope's offer. While preparing to bring the supposed refusal to Rome, he did not think it necessary to keep the matter a secret, and the *Times* announced it in a most precise statement. Other newspapers took it up,

[1] *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, pp. 380, 381.

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 558-560; *Addresses to Cardinal Newman*, p. 310.

and commented upon it in a manner more or less disparaging to the Holy See. Newman's friends were much perturbed, fearing that Rome might now be unwilling to confer the dignity. As for Newman himself, he was deeply hurt, and believed that it was less a mistake than an injury from the same unknown source whence he had already received so many.[1] He protested in his private letters that, if "so high an honour were offered him, he would not answer it by a blunt refusal."[2] The Bishop of Birmingham and the Duke of Norfolk hastened to interpose, trying to prevent the consequences of so vexatious a misunderstanding, and urged Manning, who was on his way to Rome, to explain to the Pope that Newman and his friends had no share in this pretended refusal which had been so inopportunely made public. The Archbishop recognized his error, and made a correct statement of the facts of the case.[3] With Pope Leo XIII. there was no difficulty. This occurrence had made no change in his views. At the beginning of March, 1879, he desired that Newman should be told that he had made up his mind to name him Cardinal, and that he willingly granted him permission to continue to reside at the Oratory. He even proposed, in order to spare him the fatigues of the journey, that he should receive the Cardinal's biretta in

[1] "It could only come," wrote Newman to the Duke of Norfolk, "from someone who not only read my letter, but, instead of leaving *the Pope* to interpret it, took upon himself to put an interpretation upon it, and published that interpretation to the world. A private letter, addressed to Roman authorities, is intercepted on its way, and published in the English papers. How is it possible that anyone can have done this?" (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 561).

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 561; see also *Addresses to Cardinal Newman*, pp. 8, 9.

[3] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 566-569.

England.[1] Finally, on March 15, an official letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State announced to Newman "that the Holy Father, highly appreciating the genius and erudition which distinguished him, his piety, the zeal which he displayed in the exercise of the Holy Ministry, his devotion and filial attachment to the Holy Apostolic See, and the signal services he had for long years rendered to religion, had decided on giving him a public and solemn proof of his esteem and goodwill," and that he would proclaim his promotion to the Sacred Purple in the next Consistory.[2]

V

Newman received the news of Pope Leo XIII.'s resolution with heartfelt and joyous gratitude. "I am overcome by the Pope's goodness," he immediately wrote to the Bishop of Birmingham.[3] There was nothing of gratified vanity in Newman's satisfaction at the honour conferred upon him. It was the consciousness that this act, and especially the reasons for it given in the letter of the Secretary of State, had put an end to the mistrust he had so long endured, and affixed the stamp of the official approval of the Holy See to his writings and his acts, which had been too often misunderstood in the past. He said to his brothers of the Oratory, "The cloud is lifted from me for ever." The very vivacity with which he expressed his feelings gave an idea of his silent suffering in the past.

In England the Pope's act caused great emotion and joy. A burst of gratitude among the Catholic laity found vent in the numerous addresses from ecclesiastics and

[1] *Addresses to Cardinal Newman*, p. xvii.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxi. [3] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 567.

laymen which Newman now received.[1] Some of them came from Australia and America. Newman replied to all: "Of course I can't expect to live long; but it is a wonderful termination, in God's good Providence, of my life. I have lived long enough to see a great marvel."[2] His congratulations were so numerous that he had hardly time to answer them. "I am overwhelmed," he wrote to Lord Blachford on March 28, 1879, "and wearied out with answering letters so joyful and affectionate that I should be as hard as a stone, and as cruel as an hyena, and as ungrateful as a wild cat, if I did not welcome them; but they try me much. . . . Sometimes I have been at my desk from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., with hardly any stop."[3]

All these addresses laid stress on the Pope's desire to honour and approve of the past of the new Cardinal. "I do not think anything less than this," we read in one from a Provincial of the Jesuits, "would satisfy the great body of Catholics in England and Ireland that the character and greatness of the services you have rendered to the Church and to the Holy See were understood at Rome . . . their recognition and approval will win the hearts of many to the Vicar of Christ, and bind more closely to him those that are already his."[4] At the sight of the unanimity with which sentiments such as these were expressed, one is tempted to ask what had become of the former prejudices

[1] Father Neville, of the Birmingham Oratory, had, before his death, piously collected these addresses and Newman's answers. This volume, from which I have already had occasion to quote, was published in 1905 under the title *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies.*

[2] *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, p. 22.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

against the illustrious convert. In Manning's own diocese, for instance, the Chapter of Westminster declared that "they rejoiced at the recognition of the eminent services" rendered by Newman "to the cause of religion and morality, both before and since his submission to the Catholic Church, and in so conspicuous a testimony to the virtues of a life characterized throughout by the most sensitive obedience to the dictates of conscience and the voice of authority."[1] Even Cardinal Manning himself, in his own name and in that of the other Bishops of England, expressed his joy "at seeing this merited recognition" of "the signal services" rendered "for thirty years to the Catholic Faith."[2]

In his replies Newman never sought to accentuate the victory he had gained over his former adversaries. There were no bitter allusions to the past, but he testified his satisfaction at feeling himself protected by the approval of the Sovereign Pontiff. It pleased him to emphasize the fact that the Holy Father's act "implied approbation of his person, his past life, his doings in it, and their results."[3] He usually made these statements, however, in discreet and general terms. On one occasion an unusually outspoken allusion had appeared in an address. It said that Newman "had not been altogether spared the dishonouring misconceptions which have been the portion of the best and greatest of mankind." Newman answered:

"I am led on to refer to a special circumstance on which you touch with much delicacy and sympathy, and which I can hardly avoid, since you mention it—namely, the accident that in past years I have not always been

[1] *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, pp. 34, 35.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 192.

understood, or had justice done to my real sentiments and intentions, in influential quarters at home and abroad. I will not deny that on several occasions this has been my trial, and I say this without assuming that I had no blame myself in this coming upon me. But then I reflected that, whatever pain that trial might cost me, it was the lightest that I could have, that a man was not worth much who could not bear it . . . that I was conscious to myself of a firm faith in the Catholic Church, and of loyalty to the Holy See; that I was and had been blessed with a fair measure of success in my work, and that prejudice and misconception did not last for ever. And my wonder is, as I feel it, that the sunshine has come out so soon, and with so fair a promise of lasting through my evening."[1]

The Catholics did not rest satisfied with mere words. A sum of money subscribed by their leading families was put at the disposal of the new Cardinal, in order that he might be enabled to meet the expenses entailed by his new dignity.

The satisfaction was almost as general among English non-Catholics. "There was hardly a Protestant in the country," wrote an Anglican clergyman, "who did not feel that he was honoured by this distinction."[2] At the very time when the news of the nomination was spreading, Bishop Ullathorne wrote: "The whole Press of England has been engaged on the subject, and the general disposition is to look upon Dr. Newman not merely as a Catholic, but as a great Englishman, and to regard the intention of the Pope as an honour to England."[3] Of all the newspaper articles, the most remarkable and significant, and the one which shows best what place Newman held in

[1] *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, pp. 251-255.

[2] Article by the Rev. T. A. Lacey in the *Catholic Review of the Churches*, October, 1904, p. 536.

[3] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 567.

English public opinion, was without doubt that written by Church, the Dean of St. Paul's, in the *Guardian*:[1]

"That he who left us in despair and indignation in 1845 should have passed through a course of things which has made him, Roman Catholic as he is, a man of whom Englishmen are so proud in 1879, is even more extraordinary than that the former Fellow of Oriel should now be surrounded with the pomp and state of a Cardinal. . . . Cardinal Newman's life has been from first to last the life of a student and recluse. He has lived in the shade. He has sought nothing for himself. He has shrunk from the thought of advancement. The steps to the high places of the world have not offered themselves to him, and he has been content to be left alone. Early in his course his rare gifts of mind, his force of character, his power over hearts and sympathies, made him for a while a prominent person. Then came a series of events which seemed to throw him out of harmony with the great mass of his countrymen. He appeared to be, if not forgotten, yet not thought of, except by a small number of friends—old friends who had known him too well and too closely ever to forget, and new friends gathered round him by the later circumstances of his life and work. People spoke of him as a man who had made a great mistake and failed; who had thrown up influence and usefulness here, and had not found it there—too subtle, too imaginative for England, too independent for Rome. He seemed to have so sunk out of interest and account that off-hand critics, in the easy gaiety of their heart, might take liberties with his name. Then came the first surprise."

This "surprise" was the *Apologia*, the tremendous success of which Church remarks upon. He then continues thus:

"Still, though his name was growing more familiar year by year, the world did not see much more of him. The head of a religious company, of an educational in-

[1] *Occasional Papers*, by Church.

stitution at Birmingham, he lived in unpretending and quiet simplicity, occupied with the daily business of his house, with his books, with his correspondence, with finishing off his many literary and theological undertakings. Except in some chance reference in a book or newspaper, which implied how considerable a person the world thought him, he was not heard of. People asked about him, but there was nothing to tell. Then at last, neglected by Pius IX., he was remembered by Leo XIII. The Pope offered him the Cardinalship, he said, because he thought it would be 'grateful to the Catholics of England, and to England itself,' and he was not mistaken. Probably there is not a single thing that the Pope could do which would be so heartily welcomed.

"After breaking with England and all things English in wrath and sorrow nearly thirty-five years ago; after a long life of modest retirement, unmarked by any public honours, at length, before he dies, Dr. Newman is recognized by Protestant England as one of its greatest men."

Other newspapers touched upon this subject less considerately, and laid much stress on the supposed displeasure caused to those whom they styled "the Ultramontane section of English Catholics." We can judge of their tone from the following passage of an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette:*

"For many years the Ultramontanes have done their best to forget and to make others forget Dr. Newman's existence; and though they have not succeeded in the latter enterprise, they have at all events been able to cheer themselves with the thought that their efforts were thoroughly approved at Rome. . . . Hereafter the persistency with which the most influential section of Catholics have endeavoured to thrust Newman into obscurity will be regarded as one of the strangest facts in the theological and literary history of the century. It is not a case of a prophet being without honour in his father's house. The Anglican Church had that excuse, the Roman Church had not. Dr. Newman in the vigour

of his age had sacrificed all that he most valued, save conscience, to the deliberate pursuit of what he believed to be truth, and those to whom he brought support of such unapproached value might have been expected to show some sense of their own gain. What faculty of appreciating even their own real interest they have really displayed is known to everyone. Later converts have been raised to the highest places in the Church; men who might have been glad to recognize in themselves the hundredth part of one of Dr. Newman's gifts have become influential and famous; while Dr. Newman has remained at Edgbaston the same solitary thinker that he was at Oriel or Littlemore. Now, when he is nearly eighty, the long-delayed recognition comes to him. . . . At his age, indeed, Dr. Newman could hardly hope to take part in the deliberations or help to shape the policy of the Sacred College. But the fact of his elevation would be on record. . . . Dr. Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate would mark almost more than any other single act the divergence of Leo XIII.'s policy from that of Pius IX."

VI

Newman was very grateful for the Pope's permission to continue his residence at Edgbaston; but, in spite of his age, he insisted on going to Rome, to pay homage to the Pope and receive the Cardinal's hat. Having arrived there at the end of April, 1879, congratulated by all—particularly by the English residents—he received a warm welcome from the Pope. The Bishop of Birmingham, who in England was following the course of events with keen solicitude, wrote to one of his friends:

"A letter from Rome confirms all that the papers say about the singular affection and the marked distinction shown by the Pope to Dr. Newman. When the three Fathers[1] were presented, the Pope said wonderful things

[1] Newman was accompanied by two Oratorians.

to them of Dr. Newman in his presence. What a consolation to him after all his troubles! The Pope specially desired to see Dr. Newman before any of the other new Cardinals, as Cardinal Nina expressly told Father Pope. He appears to have had three audiences. The Pope consulted him about England and the Oxford party, and requested him to write the substance of what he had said to him."[1]

It was not Catholics only who were interested in Newman's reception at Rome. This sympathetic curiosity was shared in by all, without distinction of creeds. It was no ordinary thing for the great Protestant papers to record day by day, as they did on this occasion with the most minute care, the smallest acts and words of a prince of the Roman Church. One of the most noteworthy incidents was the address which Newman delivered on May 12 at the house of Cardinal Howard, on the reception of the *Biglietto*. "It was a beautiful speech," wrote Pusey; "quite the old John Henry Newman speaking out the truth, yet not wounding a single heart."[2] This is how it begins:

"First of all, I am led to speak of the wonder and profound gratitude which came upon me, and which is upon me still, at the condescension and love towards me of the Holy Father in singling me out for so immense an honour. It was a great surprise. Such an elevation had never come into my thoughts, and seemed to be out of keeping with all my antecedents. I had passed through trials, but they were over, and now the end of all things had almost come to me, and I was at peace. And was it possible that, after all, I had lived through so many years for this? . . . The Holy Father told me the reasons

[1] *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, pp. 384, 385.
[2] *Cardinal Newman*, by Jennings, p. 148.

why he raised me to this high position. His act, said he, was a recognition of my zeal and good services for so many years in the Catholic cause. Moreover, he judged it would give pleasure to English Catholics, and even to Protestant England, if I received some mark of his favour. After such gracious words from His Holiness, I should have been insensible and heartless if I had had scruples any longer. This is what he had the kindness to say to me, and what could I want more? In a long course of years, I have made many mistakes. I have nothing of that high perfection which belongs to the writings of saints—namely, that error cannot he found in them; but what I trust I may claim throughout all that I have written is this—an honest intention, an absence of private ends, a temper of obedience, a willingness to be corrected, a dread of error, a desire to serve the Holy Church, and, through the Divine Mercy, a fair measure of success."

After these words, so humble, and yet so full of noble pride, in which, while acknowledging his possible errors, he rejoiced at the approbation given to his past life, Newman judges this an opportune occasion to speak of what he terms "liberalism in religion." He hoped doubtless thus to dispel the prejudices which he felt were still existing in a part of the Roman world.[1] But, to avoid inaccurate interpretations which might have represented him as the adversary of illustrious Catholics who had been champions of liberty, he defines what he means by "liberalism in religion." "It is," he says, "the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another." Against this error, he had directed the Tractarian campaign at the beginning of his

[1] Witness the intention, for a time entertained by the propaganda, of requesting Newman to correct certain passages in his "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk" (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 570).

career. At the end of his life he again denounces it as the great danger, as "the great apostasy" of the day.[1]

More than once in the course of the many calls made upon him by custom and ceremonial Newman's health was sorely tried. Still, whether well or ill, he was able to go through to the end. Immediately afterwards a sharp attack of malaria, aggravated by the effects of his fatigues, brought him so low that it was doubted whether he would ever be strong enough to return to England. A partial recovery seemed to have set in at the beginning of June, and he set out, but he had to stop at Leghorn, where he had a fresh attack. At one time, indeed, his companions almost gave him up. But he got up once more, so shaken, however, that he could not carry out his plan, which was to return by Germany to see Döllinger and attempt to bring him back to the Church. It cost him much to have to give up this undertaking, which seemed to him a fitting way of inaugurating his Cardinalate, and for which he thought his new dignity gave him more authority and liberty.[2]

Having at last returned, in July, 1879, to Edgbaston, surrounded by his brethren and a crowd of friends who had gathered to welcome him, Newman, although still very weak, could not help expressing, in a few words, all the joy and emotion of his home-coming. "To come home again!" he said. "In that word 'home' how much is included!" He knows well that "there is a more heroic life than the home life," and he recalls the Apostles wandering through the world, St. Paul calling himself "an outcast," the Lord "who had not where to

[1] See *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, p. 61 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313.

lay His head"; but he also bears in mind that Christ, during the first thirty years of His life, had had a "home," and that St. Philip Neri, the founder of his Congregation, has made the idea of "a home" the essential basis of his institute. He therefore thinks himself permitted to taste the joy of returning to this "home" which he feared, at one time, "never to see again," and to which "Almighty God has brought him back, in spite of all difficulties, fears, obstacles, troubles, and trials." Then, calling upon his friends to pray that he may be "as the Presence of the Holy Father among them," he blessed them in terms of touching tenderness. Many of those present could not restrain their tears, and the old Cardinal himself broke down, overcome by fatigue and emotion.

For nearly a year yet addresses and deputations continued to arrive at Edgbaston. The Cardinal replied to them, in spite of the fatigue which this exertion caused him. "To be visited with unusual honour," he said in one of his replies, "is as great a trial as to bear reverse and disappointment."[1] Two ceremonies in May, 1880, terminated, and as it were crowned, this series of demonstrations. The first took place in London, in the residence of the Duke of Norfolk and at the Brompton Oratory, where on one side the élite of the social world, and on the other the Catholic clergy of the diocese, did homage to the new Cardinal. The second took place at Oxford, where Trinity College laid itself out once more to receive with special marks of distinction its former undergraduate, now become a Prince of the Roman Church. On returning from this twofold journey, Newman wrote to Lord Blachford:

[1] See *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, p. 117.

"All that has happened for a year past and more has been overpoweringly gratifying, but equally, or still more surprising, as if it was not I. Both feelings together—pleasure and astonishment—make it a trial to my head and heart, and comes a third thought—Is it possible there won't be a reaction or *contrecoup* of some kind? and I think of Polycrates."[1]

No apology is needed for having dwelt at such length on the acclamations which hailed Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate. The importance and fascination of Newman's personality are sufficient reasons for the lengthy description of this overdue reparation. But there is something more than an interesting episode of an individual biography, and in looking closely we see a page of general history in which, on the one hand, it is interesting to note the new attitude of the Holy See, and, on the other, the place which Catholicism had won for itself in the public life of England. Newman deserved to have his name connected with this twofold evolution, which was in part his own work.

[1] See *Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies*, p. 319.

CHAPTER IX

LAST YEARS OF NEWMAN AND MANNING

I. Manning's position after the election of Leo XIII.—He is well received at Rome—He complains, however, of the doings of the Holy Office—He distrusts the Pope's intervention in Irish affairs—He combats the idea of a Nuncio for England—His criticisms of the Pope's policy with regard to Italian affairs—The effect produced in Rome by this change of attitude. II. Manning becomes the standard-bearer of social Catholicism—He is led to this both by feeling and policy—His social and political programme—His intervention in the dockers' strike—Differences of opinion regarding his proceedings. III. The popularity Manning has acquired is shown at his Episcopal jubilee—Protestants associate themselves with these demonstrations. IV. During this time Newman has returned to quiet and silence—Hardly anything is changed in his external life—He receives and pays some visits—The persistent admiration shown towards him—Protestants bear witness to this—The calm and bright end of a life which had experienced so many trials. V. Newman's death—His funeral—Address pronounced by Manning—Protestant homage—Time has strengthened Newman's reputation. VI. Manning confronted by the thought of death—His backward glances to the past—He writes autobiographical notes—He sometimes appears to be a little disillusioned—The most important of these notes deals with the hindrances to the spread of the Catholic Church in England—What these hindrances are—Manning continues to grow weaker—His death and burial—The end of an epoch—What will the succeeding epoch be like?

I

THE election of Leo XIII., fraught with momentous consequences for Newman, could not fail to have some effect upon Manning. We do not mean to imply

that the gain to one was loss to the other, as in a pair of scales, where the right scale is lowered in proportion as the left rises. Far from it. Manning doubtless had little chance of finding in the new Pontiff, with whom he had not been acquainted before his election, the paternal predilection shown him by Pius IX. His position, however, was far removed from anything in the shape of disgrace, but, at first, he feared something of the kind.

When, in 1883, for the first time since the Conclave, he started for Rome to pay homage to Leo XIII., he was under the impression that he would be but coldly received; he imagined that he had been misrepresented and systematically ignored. He was agreeably surprised, therefore, to find that, on the contrary, he was received in a most frank and cordial manner by Leo XIII. He was frequently admitted to audiences and consulted on many questions of importance, and, above all, he obtained complete satisfaction on a subject which he had much at heart—viz., the non-frequentation of the Universities by Catholic youths.[1]

In other matters, however, Manning met with difficulties in Rome which made him realize that his position was no longer the same. After the failure of his University College, Kensington, he had had much cause of complaint against Mgr. Capel, its former rector, whom he had suspended from his sacerdotal functions. Mgr. Capel appealed to Rome, accusing the Archbishop of having acted under the influence of prejudice and passion, or even from petty jealousy, and had won over to his side some members of the Sacred College. At one time the Archbishop feared the case might be decided against him,

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 577-581.

and had to threaten to resign if the sentence of suspension pronounced by him was not confirmed.

The impression left upon Manning's mind by this incident was not at all favourable to the Holy Office and its methods. In a note drawn up after conversations with Cardinal Bilio, he wrote: "These three conversations have more profoundly convinced me of the incapacity of the Holy Office in such cases, and the essential injustice of its procedures and its secrecy." Further on he added, alluding to an apology which he had looked for and not received from the Cardinals: "Their pride will not let them say, after all, that the earth moves. But there will be no correction of all this. Therefore, the Italians are in Rome, and Divine Providence will correct it, 'but so as by fire.'"[1]

He felt the same distrust with regard to the Roman policy towards Ireland. Manning, who was in favour of Home Rule, was in sympathy with Parnell's "Plan of Campaign." Leo XIII., on the contrary, thought Fenianism revolutionary in its tendencies, and condemned it. The Archbishop could hardly conceal his impatience at this intervention of the Holy See, which he thought unenlightened. Some years afterwards he wrote an "autobiographical note," in which he, who had formerly been so ardent in magnifying the authority of the Pope and his infallibility, now applied himself to defining its limits. While he admits that the *Infallibile Magisterium Romani Pontificis* extends over politics, he immediately adds:

"But is there in this no limit? . . . It is undeniable that the Pontiffs were morally within their right in the

[1] Note of February, 1887 (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 582-584).

Crusades, the Armada, and in the condemnation of boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. . . . But it is one thing to be morally right, or not morally wrong, and another altogether to be within natural and supernatural prudence. I have been always unable to think certain of these acts to be prudent. . . . The political condition of the world is not contained in the Deposit. Pontiffs have no infallibility in the world of facts except only dogmatic. And prudence is the first of the cardinal virtues. Moreover, facts are more surely known and more safely judged on the spot. Take Mgr. Capel's case, or like cases in Toronto or St. Louis, in all of which Rome was misled, went wrong, and had to revoke its decision. How can such questions of fact be judicially decided without witnesses, and with documents of the genuineness of which there is no evidence? It would seem to me, therefore, that the magisterium of the Roman Pontiff is limited by the four cardinal virtues, of which prudence is the first, and by the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, especially by the gifts of counsel and wisdom. . . . But this is a very absolute limit, and I do not know how this prudence is to be ensured except by the antecedents and conditions common to all men. I know of no special assistance. When, therefore, the theologians say that the Pope may err as a man, as a private theologian, as Bishop of Rome, but not as Pontiff, defining ex cathedra, they add 'in Faith and Morals.' This certainly does not include all questions of fact, The 'Plan of Campaign' is not a dogmatic fact."[1]

It is but natural to seek to define the limits of the exceptional privileges conferred by God upon his Vicar, and we would be the last to object to such a proceeding. One way of defending such privileges is to prevent their scope being exaggerated. But what would Manning himself have said, a few years before, of anyone who had spoken thus? Would he not have joined Ward and

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 625, 626.

Talbot in denouncing such a one as a "minimizer" who had suspicious anti-Roman tendencies?

The same feeling which made Manning desire that Rome should not intervene in Irish affairs caused him to regard with mistrust the Mission of Mgr. Ruffo Scilla, who, in 1887, had been charged to present the Pope's compliments to the Queen on the occasion of her jubilee. Certain Catholics, gratified to see Catholicism thus once more taking part in public official ceremonies, suggested the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the English Government. Manning openly showed disapproval. He wrote notes to those in power, pointing out the grave drawbacks to such measures. To his intimates he spoke with great impatience of those "intriguers" who were responsible for such plans. "These good men fancy, forsooth," he said on one occasion, "that they are working in the interests of the Catholic Church. But what good could a Papal Legate in London effect for the promotion of Catholic interests which a Bishop, worth his salt, could not do infinitely better, more effectually, and without provoking suspicion or antagonism? . . . What do they know of these things in Rome? I hardly know in Rome one man, high or low, who understands the position of the Church in England, or of the popular feeling in regard to us. The people are friendly to Catholics because we are busy only about religious things; but let us become politicians under the leading of a Papal Legate, and all the old antagonism will blaze out afresh. But what do they know of these things in Rome? The sight of a 'Redcoat' at the Vatican turns their heads." Manning, who had been walking up and down his room in a state of

intense excitement, then threw himself into his armchair, almost exhausted, exclaiming: "The people of England may put up with a Special Envoy for a day or two; but the permanent presence of a Papal Legate would be the undoing of all my work in England during the last thirty years." Then, bending his head and with a tone of sadness, he added: "*Fiat voluntas tua.*"[1]

It was not in English affairs only that Manning distrusted the insight of those who directed the ecclesiastical

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 741. At the same period, in a note written in a cooler moment, Manning expresses the same ideas less vehemently, but with equal decision. He describes the Catholic Church in England "as an alien among our Mother's children," but having purchased, at the price of all she had thus lost, "the purity and independence of the faith." He afterwards related how, "having lately had three personal invitations to meet the Queen, he had refused them all." He continues as follows: "I cannot go as a private person, and, as I cannot go as I am, I think it best not to go at all. . . . Another reason weighed with me. Our figure-heads are on fire for diplomatic relations between Rome and the Court of St. James's. I therefore thought it best to mark the complete exclusion of the Catholic Church from the Court and public events. The Catholic Church in the English-speaking world represents, not Courts, but the people; and its independence of all the civil Powers is its strength. . . . I wish this were understood at Rome. . . . I hardly know in Rome a man, high or low, who understands the condition of the Church in the British Empire and the United States. They are always thinking of 'il Governo' as if it were absolute or dynastic. . . . The anti-Catholic bigotry of England is not dead, but disarmed by the admission of Nonconformists and Catholics to absolute equality in the public life of the kingdom. In the social life it still exists widely. When it is mitigated, it is so as a religion, and, so long as we keep within the sphere of religion, we have perfect liberty. But if we were to enter the political sphere for any private Catholic interest or for any privilege beyond the common law of the land, we should provoke a storm of suspicion and antagonism. The three centuries of persecution are over, and the peace of the Church is come. We should lose the substance in snatching at a shadow if we put in risk the liberty founded upon equality before the law for any diplomatic relations."

policy of Rome: he had the same feeling about the attitude towards Italy. He had begun to have doubts on the subject even before the death of Pius IX., so it is clear that his mistrust was not entirely owing to the diminution of his influence under the new Pontiff. We find this change in Manning's views very clearly expressed in a private note which he wrote in December, 1876, at Genoa, on his return from Rome.[1] This note betrays the sad impression left upon him by all he had seen: "The Pope," he says, "was growing old and garrulous." He laments the mediocrity and want of unity of mind among some of the Cardinals—some were inactive, "looking for miracles"; others were worn out and incapable; both classes united in speaking against those who wanted to act as *conciliatori*. Manning was obviously leaning towards the latter. He added:

"The Holy See, the Faith and its traditions, are immutable; but the world is not immutable, and it is the changes of the world that constitute our trials and conflicts. Are we to shut ourselves in like Noe and wait, or are we to act upon the world, as all the Pontiffs from St. Leo the Great? If the world has fallen off and become corrupt, how is it to be recovered? By leaving it in its corruption till it returns by itself to soundness? Surely this is contrary to the parable of the lost sheep, to the Life of our Lord, to faith, and to natural reason."

Even then Manning found himself in the Roman world, in which he had formerly held so high a place, "a bystander and looker-on," powerless and out of his element. All this "darkness, confusion, and depression"

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 574, 576.

made him understand, he says, "the *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.*"[1]

These impressions were confirmed and made more definite during the years which followed the death of Pius IX. The former defender of the Temporal Power, a defender so absolute that he almost made a dogma of it, now seemed resigned to its loss, or at least considered it unavoidable. He proposed to come to terms with the Italian Government, strongly condemned the watch-word of the Holy See, *Ne eletti, ne elettori*, and even believed that the suppression of this prohibition would have marvellous results for the Church. He wrote notes to this effect to the authorities at Rome, which were not well received. Out of deference to the Holy Father, he avoided any public expression of his opinions;[2] but he made no secret of them in private conversations. He once said to his future biographer: "There can be no restoration of the Temporal Power until God changes the minds and hearts of the people. But we have no right or reason to look for such a miracle in Italy in our generation." He spoke with bitterness and disdain of those whom he styles the *miracolisti*—of "that blindness which affects to be Catholic perfection," and which "is losing the people of Italy to the Faith," as the English people were lost to it formerly "by the Spanish policy, by political conspiracies, and by the reign of James II." He stated that all this "is the work of Catholics, of ultra-Catholics.

[1] It was after this journey to Rome that Manning drew up, in 1877, the note on the Roman question, already alluded to, in which his former ideas appear widely changed (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 742, 743).

[2] In 1880 he had even published a third edition of his work on the *Temporal Power*, with very few changes.

Perhaps," he added, "it is permitted by our Divine Master for the expiation of sin and the purgation of Italy, so as by fire." He cried out in anguish: "*Quousque, Domine?*" He was not ignorant that his new ideas were causing scandal in the Curia, and he himself related how the editor of a journal conducted by the Jesuits wrote to him saying: "I am directed henceforth not to mention the name of Cardinal Manning with praise." "Yes," added he, not without a touch of bitterness, "they look upon me in Rome as *un Italianissimo*."[1]

It was not surprising that the Prelates of the Curia should be somewhat perplexed when reports of private conversations with the Cardinal showed them the change in the views of one whom they had so long looked upon as the defender of all "Roman" ideas. They were so little in a position to understand the complex causes of such a change of mind that at times they looked upon it as a sort of apostasy. It is almost needless to say that there was really nothing to justify such a view. At the outset, Manning, like many other converts, ardent in his new faith and in reaction against the Protestant spirit which he was casting off, thought he could not go too far in Ultramontane views. The personal fascination of Pius IX., who treated him with paternal confidence, the authority which he thus gained in the government of the Church, the excitement of the controversies preceding and following the Council, confirmed this attitude. But later on, time, age, a fuller experience of men and things, the termination of the ancient controversies, and also in a measure, which must not, however, be exaggerated, certain personal disappointments, all the harder to bear as he had

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 612-617.

acquired the habit and power of command, made him see things in a different light. He found out, to his own cost, the disadvantages of extreme views, and he experienced the necessity of a safeguard against unenlightened interventions. Then, as was natural, all his English prejudices against the Italian spirit, which had been momentarily put into the background by his ardent Ultramontanism, reappeared. Whatever may be thought of this evolution, it must be acknowledged that it did not overstep the limits of legitimate Catholic liberty, and that it left untouched the Archbishop's devotion to the Church and his fidelity to the Holy See.

II

This is not the only development to be noticed in the views and attitude of Cardinal Manning. At the same period, and from analogous causes, another was taking place which was more apparent to the multitude, and had much greater effect upon them. Hitherto Manning had only been known as the advocate of authority and of a reactionary policy. He now seemed, instead of clinging to the past, to forestall the future, and became the ardent champion of advanced and popular ideas. This transformation was not so sudden as outsiders, impressed only by public demonstrations, believed. In the years which preceded the death of Pius IX., Manning evinced a tendency to mingle more actively in the social life of his country, to seize upon occasions to co-operate in works of public interest, to combat the old habits which seemed to make Catholics fear to "go out of their sacristies." But he now took such new and striking steps that the public could not see any connection between

the present and his former state of mind. He no longer appeared simply as a citizen concerned in all questions of general interest; he became openly democratic, and constituted himself the standard-bearer of Social Catholicism, if not of Christian Socialism.

A twofold reason of sympathy and policy led to this attitude. He felt acutely the miseries of the poor, even from his early days. In autobiographical notes, written in 1880 and 1889, he congratulated himself on having always had "strong popular tendencies," and traces them back to his readings of the Bible in childhood, saying in jest "that Moses made him a Radical." But it was, above all, in the exercise of his ministry that his solicitude for the sufferings of the working classes had developed. "For more than fifty years," he said, "I have lived among the people—seventeen among ploughmen and shepherds in Sussex, and nine-and-thirty among the people of London. I have seen and heard and known their wants, sufferings, hardships, and the defeat of their petitions and hopes, and my whole soul is with them." It was this motive which led him, at all times, to interest himself in philanthropic work, and hence his crusade against intemperance. This solicitude became more manifest, and urged him onward in his criticisms of the actual constitution of society. He was no longer satisfied to state in a letter to the President of a Working Men's Union "that he has always present to his mind that saying of our Lord, 'I have compassion on the multitude'"; but, in addition, "that nowhere were the conditions of the rich and the poor so extreme as in England." He demanded reform. "The condition of these wretched millions," he said, "cries to Heaven."

After the motive of personal sympathy came that of policy. Manning clearly explained this in the same autobiographical notes: "My belief is, that if the Church is to be spread in England, it will be by its large popular sympathies identifying it, not with the governors, but with the governed." He urged that, following "the example of the Holy Father, the Bishops of England should take under their protection the millions who labour." In a letter to Count de Mun, on January 25, 1891, he described the Church as "stripped and cast out by all the Governments," and concluded that her "true dwelling is among the people." "The coming century," he said, "will belong, not to the capitalists nor to the middle classes, but to the people." He feared that his co-religionists, wholly enslaved by the traditions of the past, would not understand this necessity of the new times. "The Catholics of England," he wrote, "seem to me to be in their politics like the Seven Sleepers. If anything, they are Charles the First Royalists. But there is no Charles the First left." And again: "God forbid that we should be looked upon by the people as Tories, or of the party that obstructs the amelioration of their condition, or as the servants of the plutocracy, instead of the guides and guardians of the poor!" He believed that the Catholic Church was the only power that could win the confidence of the people. "It has it already in Ireland. It is gaining it in England." It would do what the Anglican Church was hindered from doing by reason of its connection with the Government. Alluding to his own case, Manning added: "If I had not become a Catholic I could never have worked for the people of England as in the last year they think I have worked for

them. Anglicanism would have fettered me. The liberty of Truth and of the Church has lifted me above all dependence or limitations."

Thus, while maintaining that the Church should hold aloof from political parties, while declaring that he had a "contempt for politics and for the Talking-Mill at Westminster," and congratulating himself that in half a century he had only once used his right to vote, Manning urged Catholics to take up "social politics." "My politics," he constantly reiterated, "are social politics." Manning expressed his views in numerous writings, letters to the newspapers, lectures, review articles, pastoral letters, and conferences, one of which became an important book entitled *The Rights and Dignity of Labour*. These writings were not addressed to the English public only: they spread throughout the whole world, and Christian Socialists of all nations were happy to shelter themselves under such eminent patronage. Manning took up the position of an absolute opponent of the old-fashioned Political Economy, founded upon free competition and *laisser faire*. In opposition to this he laid down that the great end of life was not the production of wealth, but the production of the greatest possible happiness for the mass of mankind. He emphatically proclaimed that "every man has a right to work and to bread." In his opinion, the pretended "freedom" of competition had only ended in the crushing and overworking of labourers, powerless to defend themselves against Capitalism. Labour, which had been too long undervalued, should be raised and protected, which it would only be by the intervention of the State and the law. How far should this intervention extend? Manning

would give it a very wide field. He demanded this intervention not only for the protection of wives and children, but also for the regulation of the hours of work for the adult labourer. On the subject of the regulation of wages, in the famous letter written in 1890, on the occasion of the Congress of Liège, he suggested the idea —which he himself qualifies as "perhaps bold and violent"—"that peaceful relations would not exist between employers and labourers until a just and fitting scale was recognized, fixed, and publicly established, regulating profits and wages, and until all free contracts between capitalists and labourers shall be regulated according to this measure." He proposed, moreover, that this scale should be revised every three or five years, according to variations in the price of commodities. Many concluded from language like this, that the Archbishop was in favour of the legal regulation of a minimum wage, and many voices were raised in opposition, in particular that of Mgr. Freppel. Manning denied the imputation, saying that what he meant was a *public* regulation, not a *legal* one, and that "recourse to legislation should be, as much as possible, avoided in this matter." This justification did not appear satisfactory to all, and it was remarked that appeals to legislation, in Manning's words, were to be avoided only "as much as possible."

Manning did not rest satisfied with the mere expression of theories which were sometimes rather questionable, although always springing from generous motives. He eagerly seized upon every occasion of acting in favour of the working classes. In 1884, some fearful revelations in regard to the misery of the dwellings in certain London districts having aroused public interest, a Royal Commis-

sion of Inquiry was instituted. Being asked to take part in it with many influential personages, among whom was the Prince of Wales, the Cardinal made himself remarkable by his capability and assiduity. When, in 1887, Cardinal Gibbons was attacked for having pronounced in favour of "the Knights of Labour," Manning warmly espoused his cause. It was not to Catholics only, but to men of all creeds, that he was ready to hold out a helping hand when there was any question of alleviating some misfortune of the people. In 1885, a Nonconformist preacher having founded a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Cardinal, without a thought of the difference of creed, gave him public support. Manning said of these poor little ones that a child's tear not wiped away cries to God as loudly as blood shed upon earth. On another occasion he took part, also in the company of Protestants, in demonstrations in aid of the unemployed. The editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* had undertaken about this time a well-advertised campaign against the prostitution of girls under age in London, in course of which many terrible revelations were made. Manning only saw a heinous sore to be healed, and without being shocked at methods which others might have regarded with suspicion, he intrepidly gave his support, in the face of public opinion, to the promoter of this scheme. To those who were scandalized he replied: "If twelve tribes of Pharisees and Scribes rose up against me, they would not hinder me from doing what I regard as a duty." In a similar way he more than once expressed his sympathy for the leaders of the Salvation Army. In 1882, speaking of them in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, he wished eternal rewards "to those who spend their lives in

the salvation of souls." In 1890, when General Booth published *In Darkest England*, he declared that he quite agreed with his criticisms on modern society. And when some expressed astonishment at his words, he replied: "What would you have? In a desert where the shepherd is absent every voice which dispenses a portion of the truth prepares for the coming of Him who *is* the Truth." All who professed to devote themselves to the redress of social injustices and to the relief of the people found a sympathetic welcome at the Archbishop's house. Occasionally agitators or sophists whose presence was rather compromising would slip in amongst them. Among others came Henry George, the famous American Socialist. The Cardinal, who gave him a welcome which George interpreted as an approval of his views, was no doubt unconscious that he was dealing with a Radical opponent of the rights of property.

The most memorable episode in the social work of Cardinal Manning was his intervention in the famous dockers' strike in 1889. These labourers, usually drawn from the lowest class, led a miserable life, and up to that time had been unorganized, and consequently without protection against their employers. At length they united, under the leadership of clever and energetic men, including John Burns, now a Cabinet Minister in the Liberal Government, and declared a strike, which put out of work two hundred thousand dock labourers and workmen in kindred trades. It was a serious crisis for the suspended trade and a time of cruel misery for the strikers. Three weeks passed without any prospect of a solution of the problem; men were growing exasperated, and the most violent measures were feared; the shadow of

a sort of civil war hung over the City. In this perilous crisis, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor, the intervention of influential persons was requested. Among the number were Cardinal Manning and Dr. Temple, Bishop of London. The latter, after a short time, discouraged by difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and by the heavy weight of responsibility, left the committee. Manning, whose heart was deeply moved by the general danger and the sufferings of the labourers, held to his post with redoubled activity and energy. In spite of his eighty-two years, he went from one camp to the other, wringing from the employers the concessions which seemed to him to be required in the name of justice and humanity, then advising the men on their side to be more moderate in their demands. After long and laborious discussions, the two parties could not agree as to the date at which the new scale of payment conceded by the directors was to come into operation. A deadlock ensued. At the very moment when all expected that the end of the trouble had come, the conflict seemed indefinitely prolonged. The indefatigable Cardinal made new efforts to abridge the delay, but the labourers had also to be appeased, for they persistently demanded an immediate change in the scale of wages. A violent and bloody conflict seemed imminent. The Cardinal went to the headquarters of the strikers, and assembled the various Strike Committees in a Catholic school. The assembly was at first very riotous, and there seemed little hope, but Manning, for three and a half hours, made use of all his arts as an orator and diplomatist. He counted, above all, on his ascendancy over the hearts of the workmen and the influence which his earnestness and sincere self-sacrifice had won among

them. He implored them, in pathetic terms, not to prolong the strike, not to add to the sufferings of their wives and children, nor to the general disaster. "If you refuse to fulfil this mission of peace," he said to the leaders, "I will go myself and address the strikers; twenty-five thousand of them are my spiritual sons: they will listen to me." Great was the emotion among the rough hearers; several shed tears; one of them thought he saw the Madonna, hanging on the wall over the Prelate's head, nod her approval. The offer was accepted and the strike was at an end, after having lasted thirty-three days. For eleven days Manning had worked to bring about a solution.

Great was the public relief at seeing peace restored at the very moment when all hope had seemed lost. By the grateful public the end of the strike was hailed as "the Cardinal's Peace." The intervention of a Bishop in the question of fixing the rates of wages was an event which could scarcely be expected to be often repeated. This was Manning's own opinion, and he accounted for his interposition and its successful results by the exceptional circumstances.[1] It obtained for him such popularity as, according to the testimony of Protestants themselves, no Anglican prelate had ever enjoyed[2]—a surprising popularity considering the disfavour with which he was regarded some fifteen or twenty years before. The rich recognized in him a power which had averted a threatened catastrophe; the labourers felt that they had in him a powerful, disinterested, and devoted protector.

But, at the same time, the attitude and language of the

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 665, 666.
[2] Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, p. 258.

Cardinal did not always meet with unanimous approval. Some Catholics were made uneasy by his theories and scandalized by the company he frequented, but members of his household who ventured to remonstrate with him were silenced in such a way that they never recurred to the subject. Manning was not a man to be troubled by criticisms which he judged pharisaical or behind the times, due to ignorance of the needs of the age and of the interests of Catholicism. Moreover, he considered that he had sufficient authority to take whatever line he chose, no matter who was pleased or offended. "Take care, your Eminence," one said to him; "you are introducing Socialism." "I do not know," he replied, "if it is Socialism to you, but to me it is pure Christianity."[1] On another occasion, when he had been called a "Socialist" and a "Revolutionary" on account of his declarations as to "the right of every man to work and to bread," he ridiculed in an article published in the American *Quarterly Review* the crime of high treason which had been imputed to him, and which he was proud of having committed.[2] He did not deny that he was a Radical. "My Radicalism," he said, "goes down to the roots of the sufferings of the people." The one thing he held to was to make it clear that it was only a Social Radicalism, and that, though he desired the largest legislation for the welfare of the people, yet he was no democrat or Radical in the sense of opposing or weakening authority. On this subject he also said: "But there has never been a taint or a shadow of subversion or destructive policy in all

[1] Quoted by the Abbé Lemire, *Le Cardinal Manning et son Action Sociale*, p. 114.

[2] Quoted by M. Hemmer, *Vie du Cardinal Manning*, p. 405.

that I have said, written, or done. No man is more constructive and conservative of all just law or tradition, even when inequalities are most salient, as in the upholding of a hereditary Chamber."[1]

Let us add that, although thus occupied with labour problems, Manning never lost sight of the purely ecclesiastical and religious aspect of his work. He was always equally solicitous about the multiplication of churches and schools and the development and organization of the clergy. He interested himself in all apostolic and devotional works, successfully advocated at Rome the beatification of the English martyrs of the sixteenth century, and also found time to publish various writings on devotional and doctrinal subjects. The character of social reformer did not efface that of priest. Moreover, in all his activities it was clear that he always had before him but one aim, which was the progress of Catholicism in England, and consequently the salvation of souls.

III

During his last years, in spite of the opposition that he sometimes met with, Manning was one of the most remarkable and popular men in the country. All, whether Catholics or not, whether in agreement or not with his views on social questions, united in acknowledging his greatness. This was very evident when the jubilee of his twenty-five years as Bishop was celebrated in June, 1890. Addresses and congratulations were presented from all sides. The Dean of the Chapter praised him for having "raised the ecclesiastical state and the pastoral charge" both in public opinion and in the eyes of the clergy themselves,

[1] Autobiographical notes (*Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 631, 636).

and recalled the immense improvements which had been accomplished under his direction in the religious life of the diocese. To the Duke of Norfolk, who offered him the congratulations of the laity, the Archbishop, who felt that he had not always been approved of by all of them, replied that during his long term of office he had had to do with so many men and things that some of his acts must necessarily have incurred blame from many people, but that he had never willingly offended anyone.

Catholics were not alone in taking part in these manifestations. On the anniversary, the Cardinal, leaning on the arm of the Protestant Lord Mayor, made his entry into the reception-room at the Archbishop's house. The dockers, who had not forgotten all he had done for them during the strike of the preceding year, and who, in the words of one of their leaders, congratulated him on "having awakened in them the consciousness of their dignity as men," brought him a touching address, accompanied by an offering subscribed by themselves. The Archbishop employed the money to found a bed in the London Hospital for workmen injured by accidents. The tone of the leading papers was significant. The *Daily Chronicle*, after having recalled how, thirty years before, Wiseman had been burnt in effigy in the streets of London, added that, in June, 1890, any insult offered to Cardinal Manning would arouse intense public indignation.

Another paper, the *Echo*, expressed its regret that the Established Church did not possess more men capable of rivalling the Cardinal in popularity by devotion to the interests of the working-classes.

The *Daily Telegraph*, after a rapid survey of the history of Catholicism in England, concluded with an appreciation

of the clearness of mind, practical good-sense, and impartiality which characterized the Cardinal's work, and declared that in the past fifteen years he had become one of the most highly respected public men in London.[1]

IV.

While Manning was thus surrounded by public notice, Newman had retired into calm and silence; the long ovation, roused by his promotion to the Cardinalate, had ceased from the end of 1880. He had done nothing since to attract public attention. More than ever he had resolved to keep out of all agitation or controversy. We have already related how for several years he had abstained from publishing any new works;[2] the reprinting of his former works was finished: the last volume had appeared in 1881. To put himself forward on account of his new dignity was, of course, out of the question with a man whose habitual simplicity had been rather alarmed than otherwise at the prospect of such an elevation. As soon as he could, he had again taken up his peaceable and retired life in his beloved Oratory, in the midst of his brethren and his pupils. No change had appeared in him externally since he had become a prince of the Roman Church. An "old boy" of Edgbaston says:

"It had been his special desire from the beginning that no ceremony or state should be maintained. He was

[1] Many of these quotations are taken from the *Vie du Cardinal Manning*, by M. Hemmer.

[2] There was but one exception. In 1884, made uneasy by the anxiety caused to some by the researches of Biblical criticism, he proposed, in an article published in the *Nineteenth Century*, an explanation of the doctrine of the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, which appeared to him likely to solve the difficulties which had been raised.

always known by those in the house as 'the Father'; and, except in the part he took in the ceremonies of the Church, his dignity made small difference to his life."[1]

Another witness, not less sympathetic and well informed (although he had remained an Anglican), Dean Church, has written as follows in a charming article entitled *Cardinal Newman's Naturalness:*

"Anyone who has watched at all carefully the Cardinal's career . . . must have been struck with this feature of his career, his naturalness . . ., and where he had to keep his dignity, both his loyal obedience to the authority which enjoined it and the half-amused, half-bored impatience that he should be the person round whom all those grand doings centred. It made the greatest difference in his friendships whether his friends met him on equal terms or whether they brought with them too great conventional deference or solemnity of manner. 'So-and-so is a very good fellow, but he is not a man to talk to in your shirt-sleeves,' was his phrase about an over-logical and over-literal friend. . . . Ready with a certain quickness of temper which marked him in old days to resent anything unbecoming to his cause or those connected with it, he would not allow any homage to be paid to himself. He was by no means disposed to allow liberties to be taken or to put up with impertinence: for all that bordered on the unreal, for all that was pompous, conceited, affected, he had little patience; but almost beyond all these was his disgust at being made the object of foolish admiration. He protested with whimsical fierceness against being made a hero or a sage; he was what he was, he said, and nothing more; and he was inclined to be rude when people tried to force him into an eminence which he refused."[2]

The habitual solitude of the Cardinal was occasionally enlivened by the visits of a few faithful friends—Catholics

[1] *Cardinal Newman*, by Meynell, p. 69.
[2] *Occasional Papers*, by Dean Church, vol. ii., pp. 480, 481.

like Aubrey de Vere, Lord Emly, Dr. Ullathorne, or Anglicans like Church, Lord Blachford, or Lord Selborne.[1] His welcome was ever affectionate. From these interviews, all—even Anglicans—retained a singularly keen impression of that expressive countenance, in which, it is said, his whole soul appeared, a soul absorbed in the invisible world. There were no longer any traces left of the clouds which formerly hung over it.

With his old Oxford friends, Newman took pleasure in speaking of the past, sometimes not without emotion. In the course of such a conversation with Lord Selborne, in October, 1887, he was showing his friend's daughter a painting hanging on the wall of his room, and representing a bird's-eye view of Oxford. "*Alma Mater, Alma Mater*," he repeated; then he added: "I shall never see her again. How dear she is to me!" And his eyes filled with tears.[2]

Sometimes he employed himself in procuring some pleasant diversion for his visitors. Thus on one occasion he called in the music-master of the school and two other musicians in order that Lord Blachford might be entertained by a trio of Beethoven.[3] He was himself a great lover of music as well as a brilliant executant. Indiscreetly challenged by a Protestant controversialist to a sort of theological tournament, he had declined this singular contest, but pleasantly added that if his challenger wished to measure his strength with him on the violin, he was his man. Nothing could give him greater pleasure than to

[1] Gladstone also came to Birmingham to pay a visit to the Cardinal, but, as the latter was unwell, he was unable to see him (*Cardinal Newman*, by Meynell, pp. 76, 77).

[2] *Unpublished Documents.*

[3] *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 461.

hear good music; on this account, at the solemn reception which was held at the Oratory in London in May, 1880, a surprise was given him. When he entered the great reception-room, he heard a piece by his beloved Beethoven, played by three violins and a violoncello placed in the gallery. "And then," says an eye-witness, "to the admiring eyes which watched the venerable face, leaning on the worn hand, the Cardinal was momentarily in a state of rapture."

At other times, but more rarely, the old Cardinal would put himself out to go and see some friends who were particularly dear to him, in London or elsewhere. At the risk of scandalizing certain people who were unaccustomed to see a Cardinal the guest of an Anglican dignitary, he did not consider that his new rank hindered him from making occasional short visits to Church, at the Deanery of St. Paul's, as he had been in the habit of doing.[1] In 1883, having come to London to sit for his portrait by Millais, he made use of the opportunity to pay a visit to Manning, which the latter returned in the following year. The Cardinals were now on terms of ordinary friendliness, though perhaps a little constrained. On his return from London, after the first of these meetings, Newman said to one of the Fathers of the Oratory: "What do you think Cardinal Manning did to me? He kissed me."[2] In 1888, on his return from a short journey to London, he spoke to Dr. Ullathorne of the painful impression made upon him by the sight of the great metropolis. "It was," he said, "like a glimpse of the great Babylon. . . . It made

[1] In 1886 Church congratulated himself on having had the Cardinal for three days (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 321).

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 571.

me think of the words, 'Love not the world nor the things of the world.' Perhaps, however, I am too severe, and only think in that way because I am an old man."[1]

In vain did Newman retire more and more from the world; he was followed into his solitude by the admiration and sympathy which had hailed his promotion to the Cardinalate. The sentiments of his admirers had lost nothing of their keenness from no longer finding so many opportunities of expression. When Catholics had occasion to speak of him, it was in the same strain as the addresses of 1879 and 1880. In 1886, Dr. Ullathorne, in dedicating to him his last spiritual work, delighted in recalling "forty years . . . of a friendship and confidence which had much enriched his life," and he added:

"Deeply sensible of the incalculable services which you have rendered to the Church at large by your writings, and to this diocese of your residence in particular, by the high and complete character of your virtues, by your zeal for souls, and by the influence of your presence in the midst of us, I wish to convey to you the expression of my affection, veneration, and gratitude by the dedication of this book to your name. It is the last work of any importance that I shall ever write, and I can only wish that it were more worthy of your patronage."

Touched by such a testimony of gratitude from the venerable prelate, Newman sent the Bishop the following reply of thanks, which Dr. Ullathorne calls "a memorial and a treasure for all time":

"How good has God been to me in giving me such kind friends! It has been so all through my life. They have spared my mistakes, overlooked my defects, and found excuses for my faults. God reward you, my dear

[1] *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, p. 533.

Lord, for your tenderness towards me, very conscious as I am of my great failings. You have ever been indulgent towards me; and now you show me an act of considerate charity, as great as you can, by placing my name at the beginning of the last work of your long life of service and sacrifice. It is a token of sympathy which, now in my extreme age, encourages me in prospect of the awful journey which lies close before me."[1]

In the following year, Dr. Ullathorne wrote, on returning from a visit to Edgbaston:

"I have been visiting Cardinal Newman to-day. He is much wasted, but very cheerful. . . . We had a long and cheery talk, but as I was rising to leave an action of his caused a scene I shall never forget, for its sublime lesson to myself. He said in low and humble accents, 'My dear Lord, will you do me a great favour?' 'What is it?' I asked. He glided down on his knees, bent down his venerable head, and said, 'Give me your blessing.' What could I do with him before me in such a posture? I could not refuse without giving him great embarrassment. So I laid my hand on his head and said: 'My dear Lord Cardinal, notwithstanding all laws to the contrary, I pray God to bless you, and that His Holy Spirit may be full in your heart.' As I walked to the door, refusing to put on his biretta as he went with me, he said: 'I have been indoors all my life, whilst you have battled for the Church in the world.' I felt annihilated in his presence; there is a Saint in that man."[2]

There was no longer any trace of the former suspicions and hostilities. If they still existed in some minds, they were no longer shown. Someone having one day made an allusion, in Newman's presence, to the party which had so long opposed him in England and in Rome, he said: "Let bygones be bygones"; and then he added with a

[1] *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, pp. 481-483.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 512.

smile, "Besides, they have all come round to my side now."[1]

Protestants vied with Catholics in honouring the man whom they regarded as a national glory. Lord Coleridge, seeing the name of Newman in the course of an obituary notice of a famous University dignitary, speaks "of that great man who still survives at Birmingham in venerable age, but with undimmed mental eye and unabated force of genius, a Roman Cardinal in title, but the light and guide of multitudes of grateful hearts outside his own communion and beyond the limits of these small islands." The authorities of Oriel, recalling the fact that Newman had been one of the Fellows of that College, commissioned W. W. Ouless in 1882 to paint a portrait of the Cardinal, and before putting it in its place in the Common Room the happy inspiration occurred to them of sending it to Pusey, who was detained by old age and sickness at Christ Church. Pusey thanked them with emotion. "The eyes," he writes, "have still their wonted sweetness, the deep lines in the cheek betoken many a care and sorrow since those old days when we took sweet counsel together. Alas for poor Oxford, which would not have him! I have now every line of his later countenance impressed upon me, as well as his former."[2]

Thus the man who during his life had gone through so many internal crises and had endured so much external opposition, found himself in his old age at peace with himself and others, universally honoured, admired, and loved, with all misunderstandings at an end. All England was proud of him, and the echo of the unanimous ac-

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., p. 571.
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 372.

clamations which hailed his promotion to the Cardinalate had been prolonged into a kind of apotheosis such as few men have known in their lifetime. But, above all, there was no trace left of the sufferings and anxieties within which had betrayed themselves in past years; he seemed now full of serenity and confidence. Writing in March, 1884, he closes his letter with the words: "For myself, now, at the end of a long life, I say from a full heart that God has never failed me, never disappointed me, has ever turned evil into good for me. . . ."[1] So true is this that the one of all Newman's biographers[2] who had laid most stress on the suffering caused him by his sensitive nature finds but these two words in which to describe the final condition of his mind, *Visio pacis;* it was a true "vision of peace," like a calm and luminous evening succeeding to a long day darkened by clouds and broken by storms.

V

This calm evening was drawing to its close. Newman, who on February 21, 1890, had entered his eightieth year, and who for some time had not left his room, was visibly breaking down. The growing weakness of his body had not in the least affected his mind or his heart. More than ever, he was absorbed in the contemplation of invisible realities and in the thought of his coming death, but always in full peace and great serenity. Aubrey de Vere wrote to Tennyson after one of his last visits to the Cardinal, that Newman awaited his end with a calm and humble hope, as far removed from the coldness of the

[1] *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 482.
[2] *The Abbé Brémond.*

sceptic or of the stoic as from the presumption of the Puritan enthusiast, and that he had never seen on the face of man, woman, or child a smile like his, so full of charity, sweetness, and tenderness, and for all that crossed at times by a ray of gay humour.[1]

He only interrupted his prayers and pious meditations to listen from time to time to the music provided for his entertainment in a neighbouring corridor by the Fathers or their pupils. He enjoyed it; but even in these moments of recreation his thoughts were turned to God. One day, shortly before his death, he asked some of the Fathers to sing him Faber's hymn *The Eternal Years*. He had it repeated several times. "Many people," he said, "speak well of my *Lead, Kindly Light*, but this is far more beautiful. Mine is of a soul in darkness—this is of the eternal light."[2] The end came at last quickly and calmly. He was ill for hardly three days. He passed away peacefully on August 11, 1890, surrounded by his brethren of the Oratory.

His death deeply stirred the heart of England. The obsequies, which were celebrated in the Edgbaston Oratory, were attended by seventeen Bishops, Superiors of Orders, more than three hundred priests, all the important members of the Catholic laity, as well as representatives of the Anglican clergy and of the University of Oxford. Outside were gathered solemn and respectful crowds who could not find room in the church. According to his own desire, his body was laid beside that of his beloved Ambrose St. John, at Rednal, in that quiet country place where he

[1] Quoted by Mme. Dronsart in an article on Tennyson (*Correspondant* of December 10, 1897).

[2] *Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Meynell, p. 121.

had so often gone to seek silence and solitude for work or prayer.

A few days afterwards, a solemn service was celebrated in London, at the Brompton Oratory. The great event of this service was the sermon preached by Cardinal Manning. A more magnificent eulogium of the dead man could not be conceived. "We have lost," he said, "our greatest witness for the Faith, and we are all poorer and lower by the loss." Several times he spoke with emotion "of the friendship of more than sixty years" which had united him to Newman and "which can have no end." Repeating some words which he had written to Newman in 1861, he said "he owed him a debt of gratitude, for intellectual help and light, greater than to any man of our time." He pointed to the astonishing fact "that the public voice of England, political and religious, in all its diversities, should for once unite in love and veneration of a man who had broken through its sacred barriers and defied its religious prejudices . . . and who had committed the hitherto unpardonable sin in England—who had rejected the whole Tudor Settlement in religion." He related that someone had said, "Whether Rome canonizes him or not, he will be canonized in the thoughts of pious people of many creeds in England." "This is true," continued the orator, and he went on to say:

"It is too soon to measure the work that has been silently wrought by the life of Cardinal Newman. No living man has so changed the religious thought of England. His withdrawal closes a chapter which stands alone in the religious life of this century. It has, for the most part, been wrought in silence; for the retiring habits of the man and the growing weight of age made his utterances few. Nevertheless, his words of old were as

'the hammer that breaks the rocks in pieces,' and as the light that works without a sound. It has been boldly and truly avowed that he is 'the founder, as we may almost say, of the Church of England as we see it. . . .'

"The penetrating influence of this one mind has pervaded also the bodies separated from the Established Church and most opposed to it. . . . The same sweet voice and luminous words have been working among them. . . . I have no heart at such a time as this to go into details. It is for others, who will hereafter give their mind to record minutely the history of the great life and all that it has done. But we cannot forget that we owe to him, among other debts, one singular achievement. No one who does not intend to be laughed at will henceforward say that the Catholic religion is fit only for weak intellects and unmanly brains. This superstition of pride is over. St. Thomas Aquinas is too far off and too little known to such talkers to make them hesitate. But the author of the *Grammar of Assent* may make them think twice before they so expose themselves. Again, the designer and editor of the *Library of the Fathers* has planted himself on the undivided Church of the first six centuries, and he holds the field; the key of the position is lost. . . . Thus far I have spoken of his work upon the world without; what can I, or what need I, say of his work inwardly upon the Church? You all know it, and have felt it. His writings are in your hands. But beyond the power of all books has been the example of his humble and unworldly life; always the same, in union with God, and in manifold charity to all who sought him. He was the centre of innumerable souls, drawn to him as teacher, guide, and comforter through long years, and especially in the more than forty years of his Catholic life. To them he was a spring of life and strength from a supernatural source. . . . Our Holy Father Leo XIII. knew the merits and the gifts, both natural and supernatural, which were hidden in his humility, and to the joy of all he called him to the highest dignity next to his own. The history of our land will hereafter record the name of John Henry Newman among the greatest of our people, as a confessor for the faith, a great teacher of men, a preacher of justice, of piety,

and of compassion. May we all follow him in his life, and may our end be painless and peaceful like his!"

Small minds may be led by such language as this to recall, like Manning's biographer, the former disagreements between these two great men, and may dispute the Archbishop's right to speak of a "friendship of more than sixty years." Let us, on the contrary, rejoice to see these unhappy divisions buried and forgotten. Whatever the past may have been, to us at least it is a pure joy to see that by these words, solemnly pronounced on the morrow of Newman's death and the eve of his own, Manning had shown his desire to appear in the eyes of posterity as the friend and admirer of the illustrious Oratorian.

The whole Press echoed this language of the Catholic preacher. Not only Catholic publications, such as the Jesuit organ, the *Month*, honoured Newman as "a father of souls"—religious organs of all shades, even Evangelical or Nonconformist, and the leading newspapers, all united in praising the character, the genius, and the virtue of the departed Cardinal. The most significant words were those spoken by Anglicans who were more or less connected with the Oxford Movement. Dr. Talbot, Warden of Keble College, Oxford, wrote with emotion to Dean Church: "Was there ever a life of more sweetly and gravely solemn power to thrill and touch one? What do we not owe him?" And Church replied: "One feels now how unique he was, and how, though he was so retired, his place is felt to be empty, and no one to fill it." Lord Selborne spoke in much the same way. Dean Lake, after having pointed out in the *Guardian* how "striking" was the universal homage paid to Cardinal

Newman's memory, added: "No doubt he has worked an immense change in the national feeling in the view taken of the Roman Church, and in this and other respects the benefits which he has conferred on his Church are great. But most fair-minded men will agree, I believe, with a statement of your own, that the Roman Church has not 'the same paramount reason to be grateful to him' as we have, for that he is the 'founder, we may almost say, of the Church of England as we see it.'"[1] Lake also wrote thus to Lord Halifax, a few days after: "I have longed often to hear how you felt in all the interest which has been created by Newman's death and apotheosis. To me it has been most striking, as showing, I think, an immense change in the national feeling, not merely as to Roman Catholics, but on religious subjects generally."[2]

Since that period Newman's fame, far from waning, has only increased with time. England has grown more and more to recognize in him one of her greatest men. She admires his genius, honours his virtue, and even feels across the tomb that singular charm which he exercised, in his lifetime, upon all who approached him. What is worth even more than this seal set upon his reputation is the continuance of his beneficent influence upon souls. There is, at the present day, no conversion of Anglicans to Catholicism in which his influence cannot be traced. His works, which are continually being reprinted, are eagerly read by each new generation. No name is so proudly cherished as his by English Catholics. Many of their societies are called after him. A subscription which was opened to raise a church, to be known as the

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 301. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

"Cardinal Newman Memorial Church," amounted in a short time to fourteen thousand pounds. Let us add that the renown and influence of Newman, which during his lifetime were for the most part confined to England, are now overflowing into the whole Catholic world. In France especially the great number of works upon Newman which have appeared within the past few years are a sign of the times.

For his admirers outside the Church Newman is no longer merely the controversialist author of *Anglican Difficulties*, the autobiographer of the *Apologia*, the leader and winner of souls who has drawn, and continues every day to draw, so many Anglicans to Catholicism. They prefer to consider him rather in that new light of which we have spoken; they see in him the historian, the thinker, the pioneer, who has, it is true, not completely formulated or authoritatively imposed upon us any new theological *Summa*, but who, by giving us the benefit of his own researches, by his confident exposition of his moral and psychological experiences, has opened up new vistas of religious thought, pointed out new ways, suggested solutions in which many in our day hope to find both the long-sought answer to the difficulties of modern criticism and the elements of new apologetics.

VI

Manning, who was eighty-two years of age at the time of Newman's death, was not destined long to survive his illustrious fellow-Cardinal. The thought of death had of late been continually before him, and more particularly in 1888 and 1889, owing to failing health. About this time we read in his journal:

"*September* 23, 1888.—Any day I may go, and in a moment. I have but one desire and prayer—that is, to make a good end. After so long and full a life, I hope I shall not break the pitcher at the fountain. . . . I hope I may say: *Fidem servavi.*

"*October* 18.—How slight a push will send an old man over into sleep! I have ceased all out-door work, and have not been out of the house. It is a *tempus clausum*, a slowing into the terminus. . . . Sometimes I think that I could be more at rest if I were out of all responsibility. At others I feel that I should be greatly tried to see the work of so many years changed and checked. So long, therefore, as I can mentally do the work of the diocese and of the Church, I believe I ought to stay.

"*December* 31, 1888.—I feel that I may be called at any moment.

"*March* 2, 1889.—I do not venture to think how long my life may linger on. . . . It is so small a thing that would put life out. . . . Eighty years is a life, and that over, what remains may be treated as a time of rest, retrospect, review to correct errors, and of preparation for the end. It is an interval between life and death. My active life is over. . . ."[1]

As time went on, he was more and more occupied with such thoughts.

While thus fixing his mind upon the mysterious future of the other life, the aged Archbishop loved also to dwell on past years. The successive stages of his long life passed before his mind, and under the influence of these memories he wrote notes, which have been found among his papers, in which a kind of personal apologia was mingled with an examination of conscience, and autobiographical reminiscences were joined to judgments upon the men whom he had known. In 1880 he had begun to write notes of this kind, but the most

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 799-801.

numerous and important of them date from the summer of 1890. In these retrospects Manning finds occasion for thanksgiving. On reading, for instance, the life of a man like Macaulay, who had been in his day a brilliant statesman, the daydreams of his youth seemed to revive for a moment, and his early ambition to shine in the political world came back to him. But he was able now to shake this off, and to thank God for having separated him from the world, and chosen him, even at the expense of his own popularity, to be a witness to great truths and the server of great causes. "In the light of this," he says, "all my aspirations and ambitions disappear." He hoped, moreover, that his influence in the Church had not been fruitless. "I am not conscious," he added, "of having pulled down a stone or a grain of Truth."[1] These thanksgivings and inner consolations were, however, sometimes shrouded by a veil of sadness. For instance, in 1888 we find a note in which Manning complains, with some bitterness, that he had suffered more from Catholics, especially those of his own diocese, in the course of his life than from Protestants. It is certainly a singular fact that Newman, who had, humanly speaking, been checked and thwarted in all his enterprises, should end his life in such marked serenity and peace, whereas Manning, who had apparently enjoyed all the success refused to Newman, and who had attained to the highest point of personal honour and influence, should at that time betray feelings of bitter disillusionment.

This impression is produced upon us in a marked degree when we read the most lengthy of these notes, written in 1890, in which Manning sets forth the "hindrances to

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 675-678, 721, 730.

the spread of Catholicism in England."[1] With rare penetration and courageous frankness, not unmingled with a severity bordering on pessimism, he rebukes the faults of the clergy over whom he rules. It would be hard to decide whether these notes were inspired by the manly determination of one who investigates an evil only because he has the will and the assurance that he will finally conquer it, or by the somewhat wearied discouragement of the aged general who is beginning to doubt the valour of his troops or the triumph of his cause. However this may be, the document is curious and instructive, and well worth pausing to examine. On the eve of watching the disappearance of one who held so great a place in the Catholic movement in England, it is interesting to ascertain what is the impression he bore away with him from his forty years' struggle, what teachings he has drawn from his experience, and what are his auguries for the future. These notes are truly his *Novissima verba*, and throw light, not on the religious position of England only, but might be equally serviceable to every country.

The first hindrance pointed out by Manning is that the Catholic clergy are not so "cultured" and so "civil" as the Anglican clergy. By the last indictment he means that "they do not share and promote the civil life of the people." But Manning admits as an extenuating circumstance that this condition of things is the consequence of centuries of persecution and of the large Irish element among Catholics in England. He adds:

"So long as this habit of mind lasts we shall never have a civil priesthood; and so long as our priesthood is not civil it will be confined to the sacristy, as in France,

[1] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii., pp. 774-796.

not by a hostile public opinion, but by our own incapacity to mix in the civil life of the country. . . . In truth, the whole civil and political life of England is open to us, if we know how to enter and how to bear ourselves. Our Faith must go with us and govern us everywhere, but, except on the rarest occasions, it need not be proclaimed. . . . We cannot multiply loaves or heal lepers as Our Lord did, by which the people were won to follow and learn of Him, but we can be prompt and foremost in working with all who are labouring to relieve every form of human suffering, sorrow, and misery. If we come forward gladly and usefully, the people of this country are visibly glad to receive us among them. . . ."

"A still greater obstacle to the spread of the Faith," says Manning, "is the shallowness of our preaching." He reproaches the Catholic priests with wandering off into dissertations on secondary devotions, instead of solidly instructing the faithful in the great truths of the Gospel. "Why," he asks himself, "do we not draw men as do Spurgeon, and General Booth of the Salvation Army?" His answer is: "We choose our topics unwisely, and we are not on fire with the love of God and of souls." And he continues thus:

"When we preach pieties and controversies, the souls of the English people are neither won nor moved. . . . But surely we ought to win and move and draw and soften the souls of men as Our Lord did, and by the same truths. . . . So also was the preaching of the Apostles, when they preached in the name of Jesus. . . . This preaching converted the world, and no other will convert England. The English people, as a whole, still believe in Our Lord, His love, His passion, His absolution, His most precious Blood, and also in repentance, grace, and conversion. Why do we not meet these truths in their minds and the needs of their souls by offering to them all these things in greater freshness and beauty? They come to hear us, hoping for these things, and they go

empty away, saying that our preaching does not come home to them, and is not what they need. When we have got them to Confession, we can teach them Rosaries and the use of Holy Water."

A third hindrance is that an exaggerated reaction against Protestantism has discredited the popular use of the Holy Scriptures among Catholic priests. This has lowered the standard of Christian life.

The fourth hindrance is the ignorance among the hereditary Catholics of the spiritual state of the English people. They had been so thrown in upon themselves by long periods of persecution that they have acquired the habit of rigorously holding the maxim: *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus.* Manning thus describes their state of mind:

"They have believed Protestants, as a whole, to be without faith or baptism; or even, if baptized, to be none the better. This idea has so possessed even priests that I have known instances of priests refusing to receive a convert into the Church, and also of a priest who said: 'Thank God, I never received a convert into the Church.' They supposed us (Anglicans) to be impostors, or to have worldly motives, as we did when Jews came to be received. This temper is now happily passing away. It is a strange state of mind, for they could not help knowing that the great majority of the English people are baptized, and are therefore elevated to the Supernatural Order. If they live in charity with God and man, their baptism would save them."

And, having recalled the doctrine of grace regarding this matter, Manning adds:

"My experience among those who are out of the Church confirms all I have written of the doctrines of grace. I have intimately known souls living by faith, hope, and

charity, and the sanctifying grace with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost in humility, absolute purity of life and heart, in constant meditation on Holy Scripture, unceasing prayer, complete self-denial, personal work among the poor—in a word, living lives of visible sanctification, as undoubtedly the work of the Holy Ghost as I have ever seen. I have seen this in whole families, rich and poor, and in all conditions of life. Moreover, I have received into the Church I do not know how many souls in whom I could find no mortal sin. They were evidently in the grace of their baptism. This same is the testimony of priests whom I have consulted. . . . How, with these facts, can men go on speaking of those who are out of the Church in England as in the state of nature and in bad faith, and to be avoided as immoral? There are no doubt such persons among them. But what is the state of France, Italy, Spain, South America? All the light and grace of the Catholic Church is in vain for multitudes in those Catholic nations."

A fifth hindrance is what, for want of a better name, Manning calls "Sacramentalism." As to this point, he says:

"Priests have a danger of becoming Mass-priests or Sacrament-mongers. They possess, by Divine Commission, the power of administering sacraments which confer grace *ex opere operato*, to which they can add nothing, nor can their own unworthiness hinder its effect. It is easily possible for a priest, *citra peccatum mortale commissum*, to neglect his meditation, examination of conscience and spiritual exercises, and therefore to become unspiritual and dry. Still he administers sacraments exactly and mechanically. He had committed no mortal sin. And a thousand venial sins are venial still; but the man is dry, and everybody feels it when he preaches or is in the Confessional, or by a death-bed, or in a house of sorrow. . . . The objective efficacy of sacraments was not intended to dispense with the subjective fitness either in the minister or in the receiver."

To describe the sixth hindrance, Manning has also to coin a word; he calls it "Officialism," which he thus defines:

"A dependence for our work, not on our subjective fitness, but upon official powers. It is certain that, as the objective is over-valued, the subjective is under-valued. It is curious that in the Anglican body High Churchmen are dry and Low Churchmen exalt their own person. In the Catholic Church all priests are High Churchmen. And there is a danger of official assumption. But for this we should not have had the hatred and contempt of sacerdotalism. I am sorry to say that even good priests sometimes swagger; they think to magnify their office, but they belittle themselves. This has been the cause of endless troubles in hospitals and workhouses. Unfortunately, even good priests are not always refined, and they resent any hindrance in the way of their sacred office, with want of self-control which gains nothing and often loses everything."

Manning then recalls all that he has done to raise the ideal of the priesthood, and this gives him an opportunity of upholding a thesis which he had at heart—viz., to oppose the view that the state of the secular priest is lower than that of the regular. He asserts that the secular priest is also called to spiritual perfection. He continues as follows:

"To this it will be answered: 'Look at the secular clergy: where is their spiritual perfection?' I answer, 'Look at the regulars: are they all perfect?' The secular priests are hundreds of thousands, the regulars not twenty thousand. There may be less mud in a canal than in the River St. Lawrence; but the one is God's creation, the other is of man. Moreover, if the secular clergy are on a lower spiritual level than regulars, which I am granting, but not conceding, I ascribe it to three brief causes:

"1. First, to the low and depressed notion of the

priesthood which has become tradition. The higher the mark, the higher the aim. A low standard breeds a low desire, and paralyzes the affections and energies of the soul. . . .

"2. Secondly, the inefficient state of our seminaries. . . .

"3. Lastly, the clergy of a diocese will be what the Bishop is: if he is lax, they will be lax: if he is strict, they will be strict also. . . . But, further, a Bishop must not be a dependent on the upper ten thousand, nor a diner-out, nor a waster of time, nor a joker of jokes, nor a reader of newspapers, nor a centre of favourites, but open to all his priests, at any day and at any hour, sharing their burdens and troubles, and unselfish in word and deed. He ought to live for his priests, and among them, in the habits of his life as like to their habits as possible. God knows how imperfect we are, but if we aim at perfection, and say 'Come,' our priests will follow us. If we aim at anything lower, and say 'Go,' they will fall back. If the diocesan priesthood is lower in life and attainments than the regulars, the chief cause is to be found in the Bishop, first in the seminary, and next in his life, spirit, and discipline. Now, some Bishops, having a clergy of a lower culture, are disappointed and discouraged, and tempted to turn away from their own priests, and to call in regulars to do what they need to be done. The effect of this is to chill and depress the clergy still more, and even to confirm them in their lower state. . . ."

A seventh and "grave" hindrance has been "the controversial spirit both in matter and in manner of preaching and writing."

"There is no doubt," says Manning, "that this (spirit of controversy) was forced upon the Church in England by the so-called Reformation, which denied Catholic truth and affirmed doctrinal errors. But controversy is at best polemical theology, and polemical theology is simply, if not wholly, destructive. But destruction builds up nothing. At best it only clears the rubbish off the site, so as to make building up possible. And yet positive theology will clear away rubbish, without seeming to do

so. For clearness of statement is evidence in itself. 'Evidentia' is truth looking out of the cloud and making itself visible like light. The great majority of men are convinced, not so much by reasoning as by a clear conception of truth. . . . The founder of the Quakers was right when he said: 'When I am in argument, I take care not to provoke my antagonist, for so long as he is calm, all the grace of God there is in him is on my side.'"

These considerations lead Manning on to the eighth hindrance, which he says is "that the Catholic clergy do not sufficiently ascertain before they begin to teach what those who hear them already believe." He says:

"In truth, teaching is like a game of dominoes. If the hearers put down three, we must meet it with a three, but for this we must know their intellectual holdings. . . . So long as we appeal to these truths as they exist in the minds of the English people they will respond to us, and we shall thereby gain their ear and their confidence. And if we preach these things better than their own preachers, we shall thereby establish a superiority of fire. . . . London alone has in its streets four millions, of whom half are without God in the world. From Wesley to 'General' Booth, the non-Catholics are working among them. Is the Catholic Church to do nothing? Certainly our first work is *ad intra* on our own people, and grievously we need it. But are we to do nothing *ad extra?* . . . . I believe we could do much. . . . I have said before that we ought to play at dominoes with the English people. Where is the good of preaching on the Immaculate Conception to people who do not believe in the Incarnation? or on the Church to those who do not believe in Christianity? Surely a procession through the streets would do better to sing or say the Litany of the Holy Name than the Litany of Loretto. Give the English people what they can understand, and they will listen, and listen gravely. . . . So, again, to sing English hymns through the streets rather than to say the rosary.

Hymns are intelligible to all. The rosary is, to non-Catholics, not only unintelligible, but by its perpetual repetition a stumbling-block. We need open-air preaching, and instructions given anywhere and everywhere in secular places—not in our churches. . . . The work of the Salvation Army, with all its faults, is too real to be any longer disregarded and ascribed to the devil. . . . We are bound not to be outdone in self-sacrifice and in love of souls. At a meeting in the United States, it is said 'that the mention of Jesus Christ was received with applause and the mention of the Church with hisses.' This is a terrible sentence—a doom of death to the human element of the Christian Church, but it showed a belief and love for Christ Himself. So long as this survives, we can appeal to it. I have long thought with fear that the visible Church is now as Jerusalem was in the time of Isaias and when Titus was round the walls. The Divine Spirit rules over the *Ecclesia docens et regens*, but the human spirit reigns over the Christian society. If this were not so, London could never be as it is at this day. And how to deal with it? Certainly not with the pieties of our Upper Ten Thousand, nor with the devotion of the Faubourg St. Germain. We must have our pieties and fashions in devotion. But the world is dying *positus in maligno*, and we must go into it through fire."

Manning afterwards points to the Jesuits as the ninth hindrance. We have already referred to his prejudices against the Society. His biographer has purposely omitted this part of the note, which makes it impossible for us to enter into his grievances.

The note concludes with a lengthy passage, in which Manning declares that the Anglican Church has no hold over the minds of the people; it is not so with the Catholic Faith.

"However," he says, "I do not believe that the English people will be won back through the intellect. . . . They may be won by human love, care and brotherhood

drawing the human will to the Divine presence. There is no other way to open the ear, the intellect, and the soul of man. And we are happily as independent and detached from the world, from its titles, wealth, classes and privileges, as the Church of the Apostles. Woe to the man that entangles the Church with government and politics! And woe to the Bishop who is of any party or prejudice within the Church! He ought to be above them all. Being in the state of perfection, he ought to be both human and Christian. . . . The charities of London are manifold and without number, and any man holding the office ought to . . . sympathize with all. . . . Till now, what have we done? We have left them all to those who are out of unity.

"The conclusion to all I have written I believe to be this—that whosoever represents the Catholic Church in England is bound to aim at the highest standard in all things."

Then Manning enters into details showing to what an austere life of sacrifice this ideal obliges priest and Bishop, if they are to influence the laity and expiate the sins of men. They must have "a will that inflexibly tends upwards, and a voice that is always calling 'Come up hither.'" The Archbishop concludes in these words:

"I should not have written what is in this journal if I had not been bid to do so. What I have written will perhaps seem to some to be extreme, but it seems to me that someone ought to be extreme—that is, to pursue Truth to the utmost, and to hold up in everything the highest standard. There will always be many—too many—and those good men, who will refine and palliate and enlarge the ways of liberty. Let one, then, at least, bear witness for the higher and the best, the happiest and the safest way."

These long quotations give the best idea of the view Manning took in his closing years of the position of

Catholicism in England, and how he regarded the mission of the priest and the Bishop. It seems to us that his reputation will not lose by it. It even gives him the appearance of a pioneer, breaking with the old and somewhat outworn traditional routine which kept back the clergy. From his precepts a new ecclesiastical type seems to spring up, which the Catholic clergy should strive to realize, not only in order to reconquer Protestant England, but to influence modern democratic countries which are even farther from the Church than Protestant lands.

While the old Prelate, confined by age to his Episcopal residence, was jotting down on paper these reminiscences of the past and forecasts of the future, his health, which had always been delicate, became more and more frail, and each day limited his external activity. He kept in his own hands the government of his diocese. There was no matter, small or great, which those around him would have dared to settle without referring to him. In the beginning of January, 1892, his weakness increased, and it soon became evident that the end was near. On the 13th the Archbishop asked for the last sacraments, and made his profession of faith before the chapter of Westminster. Towards evening he was heard to say: *Jugum deposui. Opus consummatum est.*" On the morning of the 14th, while Bishop Herbert Vaughan, at his request, was celebrating Mass in the adjoining Oratory, he expired.

What was most striking about his funeral was not the number of ecclesiastical dignitaries or social celebrities who were present, nor the official personages or representatives of the Queen and the Prince of Wales, nor the members of the diplomatic service: it was, rather, the

prodigious masses of the people, working men and representatives of the lowest orders, who followed the funeral procession from the church to the cemetery, or thickly lined the sides of the streets—all of whom, whether Catholics, Protestants, or Socialists, bent down, or even knelt, while the bier passed before them, to testify their gratitude and respect towards one who had so faithfully loved and served them. Never before, on English soil, had a like popular demonstration hailed the mortal remains of a Prince of the Roman Church.

This death, following Newman's at an interval of eighteen months, marks an epoch in the history of Catholicism in England. Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, who preached the funeral discourse on the Cardinal, said at the beginning of his sermon: "One epoch has just concluded; another is about to begin." The epoch which had come to an end might have been justly styled the heroic age of the Catholic Revival in England. As to the new period, the moment has not yet come to decide what it has been or what it will be. Events are too recent, the actors are too near us, for historic appreciation to define its character and sum up its results. For a short time, in 1895 and 1896, after the reception given to the Pontifical Letter *Ad Anglos*, there arose the question whether the movement towards Reunion, the outcome of the Tractarian Campaign, was not tending towards a solution. But the illusion was speedily and rudely dispelled by the Bull contesting the validity of the Anglican Orders, and there only remained, after this attempt, fresh resentments and a distrust which widened still more the breach between the two Churches; and although time has somewhat healed it, no fresh

attempt has been made towards Reunion. The English Catholics enjoy a liberty which is the envy of their co-religionists of the Continent, their faith is daily gaining more and more the respect of their fellow-countrymen, and of their former unpopularity a mere remembrance survives. In the clergy, as among the people, the religious life is regular and active, good works spring up and multiply, but all is quiet and unobserved; nothing of note occurs. There are a multitude of pious, zealous, learned men; yet no personality stands out and exerts influence over the public mind, as in the days of Wiseman, Newman, and Manning. To go by statistics, conversions are still numerous, but they are, intellectually speaking, of less note than formerly, and although public opinion is less shocked at them than in the past, they have no longer the same weight and influence. Moreover, in England, as everywhere else at the present day, thinking Catholics are absorbed by the new and formidable problems which modern thought sets before men of faith in the different paths of exegetical criticism, history of dogma, the natural sciences, and philosophy. One may say that it is on the manner in which the Church shall solve these problems that her place in English public opinion and her chances of extending her influence will depend.

Meanwhile great advances are suspended; things seem to remain stationary. We are, as it were, enjoying a momentary rest after a violent effort, taking breath on a tableland after a laborious though successful ascent. But no one imagines that this condition of things is lasting, and that the evolution of wellnigh seventy years will not extend further. Although externally there may be no

sign of it, yet the leaven of Catholicism which was then deposited in the English conscience is not dead; it continues its mysterious workings in silence. At what hour and in what way the results of these workings shall become manifest is as yet God's secret, and no human forecasts will avail to discover it.

CHAPTER X

THE ORIGIN AND FIRST STRUGGLES OF RITUALISM

I. Tractarianism necessarily gave birth to the need for a restoration of ceremonial—The promoters of the Movement felt an intuition that this liturgical revolution would take place, but they were anxious not to precipitate it—Innovations attempted by some of their followers—This coincided with an æsthetic reaction—Irritation in the Protestant world. II. Newman's secession, by modifying the character of the Tractarian Movement, encouraged ritual innovations—The opposition which they called forth—The troubles at St. Barnabas, Pimlico—The Ritualists are not discouraged by them—Foundation of the Society of the Holy Cross, of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and of the English Church Union—Troubles at St. George's-in-the-East—After 1860, and during the agitation caused by *Essays and Reviews*, the Ritualists are, to a certain extent, left undisturbed. III. Form of services in the Ritualist churches and convents about 1866—Increasing indignation among the Protestant sections of Anglicanism—The desire to put down Ritualism—How the Ritualists justify their position on strictly legal grounds—They begin to be more known and better understood—The efficacy of their work among the poor is observed—Pusey, who had at first held aloof, becomes an adherent of Ritualism in 1866—Different attitudes of the old Tractarians and the Ritualists—Tractarianism is effaced by Ritualism.

I

WHILST Catholicism, in spite of unhappy divisions, progressed under the diverse influences of Newman and Manning, the course of the more imperfect, but far from negligible, form of the Catholic revival issuing from the Oxford Movement, and manifesting itself in the bosom of Anglicanism, was none the less interesting. It presented

itself from 1865 onwards in a new form under the name of Ritualism. Though arising out of Tractarianism, it differed from it, and soon absorbed and supplanted it. Its rapid spread, the ardent convictions of its adherents, the struggles it sustained, and its bearing on Catholicism, are well worthy of the historian's attention. If the history of a singularly composite Church were the subject of this book, several other currents, some perhaps of a subtler and more modern intellectualism, would have to be noted. But this would be straying from our proper subject, which is solely to describe the effort made to Catholicize Anglicanism, and hence the reason for devoting the following chapters solely to Ritualism.

Mr. Gladstone, calling to mind in 1874 the state in which he found the Anglican religion fifty years before, declared that the condition of the English Church in the early part of the nineteenth century was the scandal of Christianity, and that the meanness of her services would have shocked a Brahmin or a Buddhist.

Although mainly doctrinal in its objects, the Movement in which Newman and his friends took the initiative by the issue of the *Tracts for the Times* gave birth to the necessity for a revised ceremonial. By awaking in a general fashion a sympathetic curiosity in regard to Catholic matters, by arousing a desire to draw closer in the external as well as in the internal life of Anglicanism to pre-Reformation traditions, and to harmonize more or less closely with the Universal Church by raising the religious ideal, by seeking out the lost meaning of liturgical symbolism, by renewing the obliterated theory of the supernatural and of mystery, by enlarging the narrow horizon of piety and devotion, it created in souls and

minds, hearts and imaginations, needs which the existing ceremonial could not satisfy. And, above all, from the moment that an attempt was made to restore faith in the Real Presence and to give the Eucharistic Sacrifice the ritual supremacy it had lost, it was impossible to be satisfied with the bare and denuded churches which at the best were but preaching halls, where there no longer was an altar, and where, behind the high-backed pews, the pulpit, and the reading-desk one could hardly catch a glimpse of the plain wooden table, upon which on very rare occasions the Communion Service was celebrated, without honour, and even often without decency. Under these circumstances, it was but natural that an attempt should be made to revive the ancient Catholic ritual.

From the beginning of the movement the Tractarians had an intuition of this ritualistic and liturgical revolution.[1] In 1839 Keble remarked in the preface to the second part of Froude's *Remains* that the writer "thought very seriously of the importance of those arrangements in Divine service which tend most to remind the worshipper that God's house is a house of prayer and spiritual sacrifice, not of mere instruction." He congratulated himself on seeing around him "in the new internal fittings up of churches" a sign that these ideas were developing and were accepted sympathetically.[1] Pusey, in answer to the question, What is Puseyism? drew up in 1840 a sort of programme, the fifth article of which was: "Regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the house of God, which acts insensibly on the mind."[2] When Newman built the Littlemore Church,

[1] *Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude*, Part II., vol. i., p. ix.
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 140.

he attempted to make in it a first application of his principles, and it was with mingled feelings of admiration and disquiet that on the opening day in 1836, his friend Rogers noticed the innovations, and particularly the magnificent altar of carved stone surmounted with a cross, "which excelled all else, and alone attracted attention." In the ritual also he was struck with the position and gestures of the celebrant, to which he was not accustomed. "We were all in fear," says Rogers, "as to what the Bishop would say." Would he not find all this rather Papistical? "However, His Lordship seemed greatly satisfied and very complimentary, and everything went off in the greatest style."[1] A little later, from 1842 to 1845, when Pusey built, at his own cost, St. Saviour's, Leeds, he also wished for a real altar, and not a simple table, in order, he said, to affirm truths that were denied. But the Bishop of Ripon objected, and declared he would not consecrate the church unless the stone altar were replaced by a wooden table.

It must not, however, be concluded from these facts that the programme of the Tractarians comprised a renewal of ceremonial, or even that they ought to be regarded as the imitators or even the precursors of what finally took the name of Ritualism. On the contrary, they were rather inclined to blame those who prematurely made changes or attached to them an exaggerated imporance. They feared that such changes might irritate the public or the authorities, and did not wish to compromise the success of essential doctrines for the sake of questions of form, which, after all, were only secondary. Above all, they distrusted those superficial and frivolous

[1] *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 38.

minds who amuse themselves with outward appearances, whilst neglecting realities, and in whom a sort of religious æstheticism created a forgetfulness of the necessity of interior conversion. Such was the studied and decided attitude of Newman and Pusey. In 1839 Pusey, in writing to the Rev. J. F. Russell, author of a *Tract upon the Ornaments Rubric*, warned his friend against imprudent and frivolous singularities. He sympathized with the decoration of the church and altar so long as this could be done without causing complaints; but he did not encourage too much concern about ecclesiastical vestments.[1] The heads of the Movement, moreover, set the example of prudence and reserve which they counselled to others. If Newman thought that, removed from public notice, he might practise certain innovations in his chapel at Littlemore, he practically retained the old ceremonial in his church, St. Mary's, and had limited himself to increasing the number of services, which he stimulated by his personal fervour. In spite of the example and recommendation of the leaders, many of their followers were tempted to inaugurate in various places a ceremonial better suited to their doctrines. Oakeley, when appointed in 1839 to Margaret Street Chapel, London, seized the opportunity, as he said, "of trying the effect of Tractarian principles upon a practical scale." In spite of the deficiencies of the chapel, he managed to transform it. He gave prominence to the altar, previously hidden by the pulpit, decorated it with flowers and candles, and placed a cross above it. The services, made to resemble as closely as possible the Roman liturgy, were a revelation to many souls, who had not yet experienced the help and

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 142-145.

consolation which piety can find in the forms of Catholic worship.[1] They attracted a distinguished congregation, whose devotion impressed those passers-by who entered the chapel. Gladstone was a frequent worshipper there, as well as his friends Hope Scott and Bellasis, who, like many other members of the congregation, were to become Catholics. The innovations were denounced as savouring of Romanism; the ecclesiastical authority, somewhat irritated, found fault, finally consenting to tolerate the candles on condition that they were not lighted, and flowers, provided there was only one bouquet, and that they should not vary in colour according to the festivals.

Similar changes were tried in other parishes, not from any concerted plan, but from private inclination or fancy. These changes not only affected the arrangements of the church, but also the dress of the celebrant; some clergymen were content to exchange the black gown for the surplice, whilst others went so far as to adopt what they termed the "Eucharistic vestments"—cope, chasuble and stole—which were procured from Paris.[2] It became daily more visible that the members of this school were forced by some mysterious attraction to copy what was done in the Church of Rome. Mozley, Newman's ally and disciple, after having been present for the first time in 1843, during a tour in Normandy, at a Catholic service, derived from it an impression which he himself called "fascination." "This was truly worship," he exclaimed; "there was the sense of a Divine presence." Ideas of the

[1] Church, *The Oxford Movement*, p. 371; and *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 200, 201.

[2] *The Church Times* held in 1897 an inquiry among its readers as to when these vestments were used for the first time. It brought to light some instances—isolated ones, it is true—as early as 1840.

same nature found their way into literature, as evinced by Disraeli's romances, *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, published in 1844 and 1845, in which the author prided himself on dealing with the social problems of the period. Although Disraeli was indifferent to the Oxford theological controversies, he allows us to see in these novels imaginative leanings towards what one might call the æstheticism of Tractarianism, and he predicted a return to the ancient poetry of Catholic worship.

These efforts to restore religious worship coincided with the Romantic movement which in England, as well as on the Continent, brought back into favour the art of the Middle Ages. An understanding naturally sprang up between the two movements. In every Anglo-Catholic parish the churches were at once ornamented in Gothic style, notwithstanding its disparity with the original style of the edifice. Gothic architecture even became, for these reasons, a little unpopular with some Roman Catholics, who preferred to build upon the model of the Italian churches of the sixteenth century. This was seen a little later when the rich and splendid Church of the Oratory was erected in London. This distrust was, however, far from being shared by all Catholics. The most enthusiastic and most intolerant propagator of Gothic art was the architect Pugin, whose conversion to Catholicism in 1833 was due in no small measure to medieval art. He became intimate with some of the Tractarians, and endeavoured, not without success, to inspire them with his own enthusiasm for medievalism.

One of the centres for this religious and artistic reaction was the "Cambridge Camden Society," founded in 1839. Its object was to promote the study of Christian art and

archæology, principally in reference to the architecture, the arrangement and the decoration of churches. This was to proclaim itself the enemy of the temple as Protestantism had made it, and to show a desire to substitute for it the old type of Catholic church. That the enemies of Tractarianism were not mistaken in their conjectures was plainly seen in a sermon preached by the Rev. Francis Close in 1844, and entitled, "The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery." He triumphantly pointed out in this sermon that as Romanism was taught *analytically* at Oxford, so it was taught *artistically* at Cambridge—that it was inculcated theoretically in Tracts at one University, and it was sculptured, painted, and graven at the other.[1] The Camden Society was not only condemned in the pulpit; its enterprises also exposed it to judicial proceedings. In restoring the Church of St. Sepulchre at Cambridge, a stone altar had been erected against the wish of the incumbent; the churchwardens, supported by a meeting of the parishioners, declared themselves in favour of the altar. The question was then handed over to the Consistorial Court of the diocese of Ely, which gave judgment in favour of the churchwardens on July 25, 1844, but the incumbent appealed to the Court of Arches, which reversed the sentence on January 21, 1845, and declared stone altars to be illegal in the Church of England.

These novelties in decoration and ritual aroused the attention even of the ignorant, and were the topic of conversation among sections of the people whom doctrinal controversy could hardly have moved. This appeared

[1] Quoted by Walsh, *The History of the Romeward Movement in the Church of England*, p. 254.

notably in the trouble caused for several years by "the surplice question." Already in 1842, Blomfield, the Bishop of London, though he had more than once favoured the opponents of Tractarianism, attempted to restore the surplice, actuated, on this occasion, by a scrupulous fidelity to the Rubrics. Stirred by the *Record*, the Evangelical organ, public feeling became so hostile that the Bishop gave way.[1] Matters were still worse at Exeter. There the Bishop's tendencies towards High Church principles were more pronounced than those of the Bishop of London. He believed it his duty to remind his clergy, in November, 1844, that the surplice was obligatory while preaching. The clamour was such that he withdrew his injunction, leaving its use optional. One of the Vicars of the town, Mr. Courtenay, claimed this right, but incurred much hostility from public meetings and attacks of the Press. The Vicar would not give way. One Sunday in January, 1845, he mounted the pulpit in his surplice. At once a tumult arose, and two-thirds of the congregation left the church. At the end of the service he was hissed and hooted at, and the police were hardly able to protect him from physical violence. Acting on the advice of the Bishop, he now abandoned the attempt, but in vain. He was told that he had lost the confidence of his parishioners, and was forced to resign. He died shortly afterwards from the shock caused by the disturbances. The *Times* considered this surplice question of sufficient importance to send a special correspondent to Exeter. A petition was also sent up to the House of Lords in March, 1845. The Bishop of Exeter defended himself to the utmost, but one of his colleagues, the Bishop of Norwich, declared

[1] *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. ii., pp. 25 *et seq.*

himself heart and soul with the agitators, and proclaimed the necessity of resisting all innovations.

II

It has already been noted how Newman's conversion, by overthrowing Tractarianism in Oxford, helped to change its character. The Movement was not checked, but instead of being centred among a few notable scholars, spread to country vicarages; it savoured less of the University, and more of the parish. A favourable ground was thus opened for ritualistic practices, which, though at first isolated and intermittent, became more frequent, and irritated Protestant feeling, already aroused by the "secessions" of 1845.

In the diocese of Chichester, the Rev. J. M. Neale, a pronounced Tractarian and a zealous member of the Camden Society, was at variance with his Bishop from 1846 to 1848. The latter reprimanded him for "the frippery with which he had transformed the simplicity of the Chapel at Sackville College into an imitation of the degrading superstitions of an erroneous Church." He was threatened with suspension from all clerical duties within the Bishop's jurisdiction. An appeal was made to the Court of Arches, and Neale was declared guilty of an ecclesiastical offence. In the diocese of Oxford, Bishop Wilberforce was the accused instead of being the accuser. It was said that, acting from complacency, if not from complicity, he tolerated the Roman practices which the uncompromising Golightly, Newman's former denouncer, thus enumerated in a blustering pamphlet: Auricular Confession, Altar Crosses and Crucifixes, Processions and

Processional Crosses and Banners, Stone Altars, the Romish Wafer, mixing Water with the Wine at the Eucharist, Elevation of the Elements, Bowing to the Elements, the Priest Crossing Himself, Unction of the Sick, Prayers for the Dead, Masses for the Dead, Romish Vestments, Romish Ornaments, Sisterhoods. The Theological College of Cuddesdon, founded by Wilberforce, was at once marked out as the chief hotbed of Roman infection. Several conversions to Catholicism were traced to it.[1] Among the clergy of the diocese, agitated and divided by these controversies, contradictory addresses were drawn up. The Bishop defended himself as best he could, disputing some facts, disavowing others, and promising his accusers that he would change the directors of the Theological College.[2]

What took place in London naturally made more stir than what occurred in the country. Such was especially the case of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett in 1850, whom the Ritualists honour as one of their first "martyrs." Whilst Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, he built within his parish the Church of St. Barnabas, where he practised "advanced" Ritualism, and on being told that nothing more could be found in Rome or Paris, congratulated himself on having attained another step towards unity. Notwithstanding his reluctance to restrain so zealous a minister, whose worth he appreciated, Bishop Blomfield reprimanded him in his Charge for the continual changes of posture, the frequent genuflexions, the crossings, the peculiarities of dress, and some of the decorations of

[1] *Life and Letters of H. P. Liddon*, by Johnston, pp. 43, 44.

[2] *History of the Romeward Movement*, pp. 388-404; *Life of Samuel Wilberforce*, by Reginald Wilberforce, vol. ii., pp. 359-373; *Life and Letters of Liddon*, pp. 30-48.

the church, which gave the Divine service a "histrionic" character. Bennett replied that he could not change any of his practices, but was quite ready to resign his duties if the Bishop judged that he was no longer fit to have the care of souls in his diocese. The storm caused by the re-establishment of the hierarchy and Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham denouncing "Papal aggression," and the still more dangerous treason of the Ritualists, whom he styled "unworthy sons" of the Church of England, were soon felt at St. Barnabas. On several successive Sundays the mob assailed the doors of the church and interrupted the Divine service by shouts and hisses. Bennett withstood the tumult, and addressed to Lord John Russell a severe and dignified letter. The Bishop found no other way of putting an end to the disturbance than by calling upon the Vicar to resign. This he did, retiring to a country parish, and leaving his Bishop little gratified by the congratulations he received in consequence.[1]

This action of the Bishop did not remove the difficulty. Bennett's successor, Robert Liddell, proved such an ardent Ritualist that, in 1854, several parishioners, urged by Protestant ringleaders, brought their case before the Ecclesiastical Courts, which decided, in 1855 and 1856, that some of the innovations brought to their notice were illegal. Liddell, as yet unaware of the dangers of the intrusion of the Civil Courts in the affairs of the Church, appealed from these decisions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and thus gave it the opportunity of beginning the long series of its decisions relating to public

[1] *Memoir of Blomfield*, vol. ii., pp. 136-159; *History of the Romeward Movement*, pp. 317-320.

worship. The lay judges, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Tait, then Bishop of London, proved themselves to be much more large-minded. By a decision of March 21, 1857, they admitted the legality of a carved and ornamented altar provided it was made of wood, of coverings for the altar, in different colours, according to the season, and of crosses on the sanctuary walls. But the lace-edged Communion-cloth, and the cross placed upon the Communion-table, and, above all, the stone altar, were declared illegal. They pointed out in their judgment the distinction between a sacrificial altar and a table for the service of the Lord's Supper.

Far from being discouraged by the difficulties they encountered, the Ritualists became daily more enterprising. The Rev. James Skinner publicly challenged prosecution. The Rev. Edward Stuart, a prominent member of the party, respectfully notified to the Bishop of London his inability to submit in the matter of lighted candles; and the Bishop was reduced to the expression of regret at such disobedience. Similar resistance was maintained by the Rev. W. Upton Richards, Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, a church which had taken the place of the chapel formerly served by Oakeley. He did not mean to assert, he wrote to his Bishop, that the use of the lights was in any way essential or had in itself any virtue, but that this was one of the outworks of the Church's citadel, and that in contending for this, as for every rite which the law of the Church permitted, he was only contending for those protections which the piety and wisdom of our forefathers had thrown around sacred things. A Catholic was thus able to write in a letter published in 1857: "Go into churches like St. Barnabas,

Pimlico, and St. Mary's, Osnaburgh Street, and tell me in what they differ from our own churches?"

The Ritualists were soon emboldened to organize themselves into associations, some more or less secret, to furnish driving power from within; others public, to meet opposition from without. In 1855 the Society of the Holy Cross was founded, from which soon sprang the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament; the former was exclusively ecclesiastical, the latter included clergy and laity. Both enveloped themselves in a certain amount of mystery, so as to escape the prying malice of Protestants. They gathered together the most enthusiastic partisans of the Anglo-Catholic movement. Their guiding principle was belief in and devotion to the Eucharistic dogma; hence a ceaseless endeavour to restore the Mass with all its ancient rites and its old solemnity, which they did not fear to call by a name so decried since the Reformation; they also encouraged the "reservation" and adoration of the consecrated elements. In every form of worship and piety they were gravitating towards the Catholic model. The influence of these two societies was to make itself felt in all the subsequent enterprises of Ritualism.[1]

It was at this period also, in 1859, that the High Church party founded the English Church Union by amalgamating a number of existing local associations. Its object was to sustain the struggle in all spheres of controversy, but soon its members were counted by thousands, and its influence became considerable. One of the articles of its constitution was to afford counsel

[1] No further proof of this influence is needed than the vehemence with which these associations were denounced by the Protestant opponents of Ritualism. *Cf. The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 46-79, 202-226.

and protection to all persons, lay or clerical, suffering under unjust aggression or hindrance in spiritual matters.[1] In this, above all, it proved a valuable resource to the Ritualists in furnishing the means to resist the various persecutions directed against them.

In its first year the English Church Union, working on these lines, published a Tract entitled, *Remedies and Law against the Disturbers of Divine Service.* The cause of this publication was a fresh outbreak in 1859, in the Church of St. George's-in-the-East, in one of the poorest quarters of London, of riots similar to those that had arisen nine years previously at St. Barnabas'. The Protestants, irritated by the innovations of the Vicar, who had inaugurated a choir for the singing of the psalms and introduced the Eucharistic vestments, had stirred up the people of the district, backed by the publicans, already annoyed at the interference of the clergy with their trade. Every Sunday premeditated and organized disorders interrupted the service; there were cries, whistling, hooting, and general uproar. Cushions were flung from the galleries, orange-peel and pieces of bread were thrown at the altar or Communion-table, and the clergy were jostled and interfered with. These disorders went on, with some intervals, under the eyes of the police, who were powerless to stop them, for a whole year. The matter was brought before Parliament several times in 1860. All attempts at pacification made by the Bishop and other persons failed. Peace was only restored when the discouraged Vicar consented to exchange his charge for a country living. This seemed to be a victory for the Protestant party and a defeat of the Ritualists. But public opinion decided

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, by Bayfield Roberts, p. 12.

otherwise. The baseness of the measures employed aroused sympathy for the Vicar and his clergy, not only in the neighbourhood, but throughout the country, as was shown by the attitude of men of quite opposite views like Lord Brougham and Dean Stanley. For the first time the Ritualists found themselves almost popular.

Accordingly, during the following years no one seemed very anxious to lodge a public accusation against the Ritualists, to incite popular hostility, or to denounce them to the authorities. This forbearance could also be traced to another cause. Allusion has been made to the agitation created in 1860 by the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, and to the subsequent controversies and legal proceedings which agitated the religious world for five or six years. These events diverted attention from question of altars, surplices, and candles—all the more, as the Low Churchmen, who had been the most strenuous opponents of these novelties, were now equally vehement against the Broad Churchmen, and in this new dispute they found themselves in the same ranks with their former enemies, the High Churchmen. These different causes account for the truce enjoyed by the Ritualists after the year 1860, during which they developed their ideas peacefully, without giving rise to any disturbance or prosecution.

III

The truce was not destined, however, to be of long duration. The Biblical audacities of the Broad Church could not for long monopolize the attention of the religious world. In 1864 and 1865 the Courts of Justice on the one hand, and the Bishops on the other, had declared their judgment on

the questions raised by *Essays and Reviews* and by Colenso's book. The controversy, if not settled, was at least worn threadbare, and, in default of agreement, a sort of languor naturally supervened. There was now no longer any reason for the momentary alliance contracted between High Church and Low Church, and the latter, free to follow its natural tendency, resumed its vigilance, no longer against those whom it did not judge to be Christian enough, but against those who appeared, in its view, to be too Catholic. What it discovered in this quarter was of a nature to arouse it. We have contemporary evidence of what took place in the Ritualistic churches in 1866. The services were inspired by pre-Reformation traditions or by the existing rites of the Roman Church. This was, above all, true of the Eucharistic Service, in which the chasuble, alb, stole, maniple, amice, the five canonical colours, the position and gestures prescribed by the ancient rubrics, the prayers of the Missal—in a word, the whole ceremonial of the Mass was employed.[1] The crucifix, statues of saints, and sometimes holy water, were introduced. Confession was restored to its place of honour. On the eve of festivals the clergy were sometimes obliged to spend the night hearing penitents. Confraternities encouraged various Catholic devotions, especially to the Blessed Sacrament. Manuals were printed for the use of clergy and laity in order to initiate them into this form of religious life. Clergymen took a pride in styling themselves priests; several wore cassocks and were tonsured; even ecclesiastical celibacy began to have its votaries, who formed the higher section

[1] One of the common accusations against the Ritualists was that they transformed the churches into "Mass-houses."

of the Association of the Holy Cross. The Church Congress, held at York in 1866, was made an occasion for an exhibition of religious art, at which magnificent Church vestments, chasubles, altar frontals, crosses, mitres, crucifixes, and images of saints were displayed for the inspection of the clergy. The Bishop of London said in one of his Charges: "There are churches amongst us in which the ornaments about the Communion-table, and the dress, and attitudes, and whole manner of the officiating clergy, render it difficult for a stranger, when he enters, to know whether he is in a Roman or an Anglican place of worship."[1] Jowett wrote to one of his friends on December 24, 1865: "If you walked abroad, you would be greatly astonished at the change which has come over the churches of London; there is a sort of æsthetico-Catholic revival going on."[2] Doubtless the churches in which these novel devotions were practised were comparatively few, but they were the most frequented and the most prominent. Among them might be reckoned nearly all those that had been erected by pious donations in the most neglected parts of London. One of these was the beautiful Church of St. Alban's, Holborn, consecrated in 1863, and destined to become, under its Vicar, the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, the most enthusiastic centre of Ritualism.

In the sisterhoods, which had been founded in the first instance tentatively and in small numbers under the influence of the early Tractarians, and especially of Pusey, but which had since greatly developed, Ritualism displayed

[1] Quoted by Manning in 1867. *England and Christendom*, Introduction, pp. lv, lvi.

[2] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. i., p. 381.

itself still more boldly.[1] Everything in them was copied from the Roman model: costumes, ceremonial of profession and of assuming the habit, books of prayer, devotions, scapular, the triple rule or vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, habitual confession, mortification, and even the use of the discipline—which Pusey recommended,[2] to the great scandal of those people who were not shocked to find the lash still used in the school and in the army—the observance of Catholic festivals hitherto unknown to Anglicans, such as Corpus Christi and All Souls Day, the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, sometimes even the use of Latin in the singing of hymns and in the celebration of the Mass, the tabernacle above the altar, the reservation of the consecrated species in the Ciborium, the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The want of experience, absence of a directing authority and of superior control, led to occasional abuses and disorders; but, nevertheless, the spritual life of the Sisters was intense and their zeal generous and enthusiastic.[3] The influence thus obtained by them, chiefly over the children in their schools, was used to promote the most advanced Ritualistic dogmas and practices.

All these events, particularly those which took place in churches open to the public, could not fail to rouse the attention and, as a result, the indignation of the upholders of Protestantism. Lord Shaftesbury, a leading member of the Evangelical school and an influential adviser of

[1] The indignant surprise with which the opponents of Ritualism regarded the growth of these convents, and the manner in which Romanist practices were introduced into them, is described in Walsh's *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 162 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41 and 185.

[3] See, for example, the edifying life of Harriet Monsell, a memoir by the Rev. T. T. Carter.

more than one Minister regarding the choice of Bishops, a zealous philanthropist and a man of faith, but imbued with all the prejudices of Puritanism, had, with some friends, undertaken a personal inquiry. He assisted on July 23, 1866, at the Sunday service in St. Alban's, and on leaving the church could not suppress his indignation. "It is the worship of Jupiter and Juno," he wrote. In his opinion, the ceremonial surpassed all that he had seen in the "Roman Churches" and gave him the impression of a theatrical gymnasium, of an "histrionic" display, of a sort of melodrama at the end of which one was surprised not to see the curtain fall. He wrote: "Do we lead souls thus to Christ or to Baal?"[1] The *Times*, which also conducted an inquiry and sent special correspondents to the suspected churches, declared that no difference could be detected between Ritualism and the most advanced Roman Catholicism. It concluded by urging repressive measures, and asked what was the use of the Bishops if they could not prevent this invasion of Romanism. This feeling rapidly found an echo among Protestant Anglicans; they declared that such scandalous innovations should no longer be tolerated, and that it was a matter of importance to rid the Established Church of them. Moreover, for the purposes of the struggle, a powerful instrument had just been forged: the Church Association, founded in November, 1865, was the counterpart of the English Church Union, established six years earlier. It gathered together the most militant elements in the Low Church party, and determined to fight Ritualism, not merely by the ordinary methods of con-

[1] *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, by Edwin Hodder, p. 618.

troversy, but by every possible measure of coercion, and especially by judicial proceedings, which caused it afterwards to be given the name of the "Persecution Company, Limited." As soon as it was formed, it proceeded in its turn to send its agents to the churches in order to find materials for taking judicial action.

There was therefore no room for doubt; on all sides the enemies of Ritualistic innovations disposed themselves for the combat. It was no longer a matter of local, accidental, intermittent skirmishes, but a general, permanent and methodical warfare, which was entered upon. There was no hesitation as to the object: Ritualism was to be "put down."

What strength had the Ritualists to resist this attack? They believed they had legal ground for what they did. They could not, indeed, deny that they were reverting to a ceremonial which had vanished for a long time under the influences of the ideas of the Reformation, and that in doing this they went directly contrary to those ideas; but they appealed to the words of a document. This was the Rubric which in the Prayer-Book precedes the "Order for Morning and Evening Prayer," and which is in these terms: "And here is to be noted, that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth." Now it seemed easy to establish that these ornaments were those which the Ritualists sought to restore to use.[1] This rubric seemed little in

[1] *The Catholic Religion*, a manual of instruction for members of the Anglican Church, by Staley, pp. 356, 357.

harmony with other documents and with the tendency which had since prevailed; it was only another proof among many of the contradictory influences which had encountered one another at the Reformation, and also of the ambiguity, often premeditated, which politicians had employed to avoid alienating those who wished to remain more or less Catholic as well as those who desired to embrace Protestantism. This point was well brought out in Newman's allusion to "lips which muttered ambiguous formulas." The Ritualists did not question this ambiguity, but believed themselves entitled to reap its benefit since they were supported by a formal document. As the Rev. W. Upton Richards wrote to the Bishop of London:

"There have always been in the Church of England, as there now are, two distinct views held by different parties within her pale, and I believe that the great object of the compilers of the Liturgy was so to frame it that room might be given for the expression of the views of both. The Liturgy and Articles ought, I think, to be regarded as a great compromise . . . and so, while both are at liberty to hold their own opinions, so they are at liberty to carry them out as they please, provided they keep within the letter of the law, the one party not exceeding, the other not falling short of, the terms agreed upon."[1]

Interesting as the legal question might appear, it was of still greater importance to know what sympathy Ritualism could hope for from the public. At the outset, it had

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., p. 418. Most lawyers, even those who had High Church sympathies like Roundell Palmer, disputed from a legal point of view the contention of the Ritualists, and, formal as was the Prayer-Book rubric, they believed that they could oppose it by other documents and historical considerations which seemed to them to destroy its import. Those curious to learn the arguments used in the matter will find them in Lord Selborne's *Memorials, Personal and Political*, vol. i., pp. 379-397.

hardly been taken seriously; the quarrels about candles and surplices seemed paltry and ridiculous. But, in course of time, this impression had become modified, at least in some minds. Mention has already been made of the favourable reaction following the riots at St. George's-in-the-East. If the new ceremonial, by becoming more marked and widespread, awoke in some a still stronger repugnance, it came to be regarded by others as a mere matter of custom, as witness the letter of a London clergyman to his Bishop, dated February, 1866. "In my own church," he said, "vestments and high Ritualistic practices, which six months ago would have offended very many, grieved not a few who are too good to take offence, and pleased hardly anyone, are now calmly talked about, instruction sought in their meaning and use, and the things themselves asked for by many." This clergyman believed it possible to state that high ritual was "an established fact; we cannot do away with it."[1] About the same period Bishop Wilberforce, though very careful to avoid any compromise with Romanism, believed "that there was in the English mind a great move towards a higher ritual." He quoted the opinion of a Manchester Member of Parliament, who, in the course of his electoral campaign, noticed, not without surprise, the interest taken by the people of that city in Church affairs and the "strong increase of love for ritual."[2]

As a matter of fact, the Puritanical prejudices which had arisen in England since the Reformation, against a religious ceremonial suspected of recalling Roman superstitions, were far from harmonizing with the general tone

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 414, 415.
[2] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 189.

of mind of Englishmen, or with their tastes and social habits. On the contrary, these prejudices were opposed to all their natural inclinations, for there was in them something artificial and something imposed from without. The bareness of the church and the dryness of the service were out of keeping with the general spirit of the country. Indeed, no nation has more minutely or scrupulously retained in its civic life the old and sometimes extravagant richness of ceremonial and costume—for instance, the ceremony of the coronation of the King, the inauguration of the Lord Mayor, the opening of Parliament, the dress of the Judges, etc. Although the Ritualists had to fight against prejudices three hundred years old, they were merely reintroducing into the religious order a ceremonial maintained and appreciated in every other sphere, and renewing ancient traditions to which, outside the Church, as a point of honour, Englishmen remained inviolably faithful. Although this did not completely remove the difficulties of their task, it did something to diminish them.

In some parts of the religious world the motives that urged the Ritualists were beginning to be better understood. It was seen that if some of them acted from a rather frivolous and æsthetic attraction towards liturgical and medieval archæology, others only adhered to the ceremonial because they saw in it the natural and necessary expression of doctrine, a means of expressing their faith and of impressing it upon the minds and imagination of a public always sensible to external forms. As one of them said, it was a method of making truth visible and "Catholicism intelligible to masses of men." "I am sure," said the Vicar of St. George's-in-the-East, "that we shall never succeed in teaching our flocks,

and especially the poorer members of them, the deep doctrine of the Holy Eucharist and the place which that Sacrament holds in the economy of Christian grace as the one act of Worship and Sacrifice offered by the Church to Almighty God, without the aid of such external adjuncts of ritual." The Ritualists constantly called attention to the aim and meaning of the ceremonial. They advised the faithful never to lose sight of the realities veiled beneath these forms, and put them on their guard against "the error which took the shadow for the reality, the symbol for the truth, and not to adhere to outward signs." Mackonochie himself declared that "the mere question of ritual" held "a very small share in his own thoughts." "The value we attach," he says, "to these things is not for their own sakes; it is because of the special service in which they are used. . . . It ought to mean something. It does mean something."[1]

One fact above all favourably impressed candid observers —namely, that the introduction into a church of the new ceremonial invariably coincided with a renewal of religious fervour. They noticed, moreover, that the promoters of Ritualism, instead of seeking fashionable parishes, as they would have done had they been mere dilettantes in search of artistic enjoyments, preferred the districts of East and Central London, whose moral and material condition was lower than anything we know to-day. There, in filthy alleys, in an atmosphere of vice, of crime, of dirt and disease, there swarmed a miserable and savage population, with which the Anglican ministers of the old type did not mix, and which, in consequence, lived outside all Christian influence. The Ritualists became the

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, p. 101.

apostles of this population; they established themselves in the very midst of its haunts, at St. George's-in-the-East; St. Peter's, London Docks; St. Alban's, Holborn; poor among the poor, mortified among the suffering, allowing themselves to be neither repelled by violence and loathsomeness, nor rebuffed by disappointment, unwearied in charity and devotion—such were Lowder, Chambers, Mackonochie, Stanton, and many others. They invited Sisterhoods to aid in their work, and the new communities settled beside them in these quarters, and devoted themselves to the children, the poor, and the sick; often straitened for want of means, opposed by a thousand obstacles from within and without, but forgetting their trials in the enthusiasm of their self-denying and devout lives. The cholera epidemic which raged in the poorer quarters of London in 1866 opened a field of charity for these Sisters. They endeavoured to relieve spiritual no less than material needs; to use the words of Pusey, the Sister was "the pioneer of the priest," preparing and opening out the way for him. All this, which would have been no matter for surprise in a Catholic land, was new to Anglicanism. Those who were not absolutely blinded by prejudice were forced to recognize an ideal of Apostolic life higher than what they were accustomed to see around them, and whatever they thought of its doctrine and practices, they could not withhold from such zeal their esteem and respect. They were, moreover, bound to recognize that the labour was not in vain. If it did not bring about a complete transformation, such as a miracle alone could accomplish, in these slums of London, it succeeded, and this was a great deal, in kindling in them a small flame of Christian life.

Clergymen and Sisters made themselves respected and loved by the poor, who became accustomed to style them "Father" and "Sister." And, strange to say, it seemed that the novelties in ritual contributed to this success, that what had taken hold of the London populace was not a narrow, cold, humanized and naturalized religion, but, on the contrary, the exposition of the supernatural in religious dogma and the grandeur of symbolic liturgy. Such a religion attracted these poor people all the more through the contrast of its beauty and its poetry with the hideous vulgarity of their daily lives.[1] The most characteristic sign of the progress of Ritualism and of the greater credit it had gained in the religious world, was the public and solemn adhesion given to it by Pusey in June, 1866. He was, at the moment, engaged in a great controversy with the Catholics, following on the publication of his first *Eirenicon*, which had appeared in September, 1865. Mention has already been made of the mistrust with which Pusey and Newman looked upon the liturgical innovations, and time had not weakened this feeling. In his letters from 1849 to 1851 Pusey showed himself inclined to believe that the advantage to be derived from these changes would not counterbalance the difficulties which resulted from them.[2] He protested when people associated him with the Ritualists, and at the time of the riots of St. George's-in-the-East, when the cry arose, "Down with the Puseyites!" had written to the Bishop of London:

"I am in this strange position, that my name is made a byword for that with which I never had any sympathy,

[1] Charles Booth, *Life and Labours of the People of London*, third series ("Religious Influences"), vol. vii., Summary.

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 309-370; vol. iv., pp. 210, 211.

that which the writers of the Tracts, with whom in early days I was associated, always deprecated—any innovations in the way of conducting the service, anything of Ritualism, or especially any revival of disused vestments. I have had no office in the Church which would entitle me to speak publicly. . . . Of late years, when Ritualism has become more prominent, I have looked out for a natural opportunity of dissociating myself from it, but have not found one. I have been obliged, therefore, to confine myself to private protests, which have been unlistened to, or to a warning to the young clergy from the University pulpit against self-willed changes in ritual."[1]

But in May, 1866, Pusey's attitude was quite different. He decided to join the English Church Union, from which, up to this time, he had held aloof, probably because he thought it too much engaged in the campaign; and on June 14, at a meeting held to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the society, he thus explained the reasons for his change of attitude:

"It is well known I never was a Ritualist. . . . In our early days we were anxious on the subject of ritual . . . and we privately discouraged it, lest the whole movement should become superficial. . . . We felt it was very much easier to change a dress than to change the heart, and that externals might be gained at the cost of the doctrines themselves. To have introduced ritual before the doctrine had widely taken possession of the hearts of the people would only have been to place an obstruction in their way. It would have been like children sticking flowers in the ground to perish immediately. Our office was rather, so to speak, to plant the bulb where, by God's blessing, it might take root and grow and flower beautifully, naturally, healthfully, fragrantly, lastingly. . . . Again, we thought that nothing should be done by the clergy till it was asked for by the great body of the

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 211, 212.

people . . . (other courses) created not only tumults, but an idea of clerical tyranny. . . . Now, in these days, many of the difficulties which we had in the first instance to contend with, have been removed. In the first place, I suppose that this is from its very centre a lay movement. The clergy have taught it the people, and the people have asked it of the clergy. We taught it them; they felt it to be true, and they said, 'Set it before our eyes.' There is no danger of superficialness now. Thirty years of suffering, thirty years of contempt, thirty years of trial would prevent anything from being superficial."[1]

About the same time Pusey wrote to Mackonochie: "It is quite true that I should not have taken the line of the Ritualists; but it is utterly untrue that I do not heartily sympathize with them for our common faith and for their work."[2] A year later, in 1867, at another meeting of the English Church Union, he protested against the distinction that Lord Shaftesbury attempted to make between the old Tractarians and the Ritualists; he declared that they had only been divided upon a question of conduct and prudence. "In matters of faith," he added, "there has not been the slightest difference. The sole practical question between us and the Ritualists was that we taught through the ear and they taught through the eye. . . . But I may say, persecution has had the effect of drawing together those who before were taking their own separate line." Is it to be concluded that a complete fusion had taken place between the old Tractarians and the new Ritualists? By no means! Their origin, views, and mentality were too dissimilar. The former were University men, theologians, scholars, grave,

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 212, 213; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 78, 79.

[2] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 193, 194.

measured, precise, a little solemn, profound in thought and faith, preoccupied above all with doctrines, addressing themselves to a select intellectual class. The latter were men of action, of less refined culture, more democratic in their ways, of a more missionary temperament, more anxious about practice than knowledge, pious, intrepid, ardent, even adventurous, eager to go among the people whom they wished to gain over to God, not fearing close contact with them or their violence. From this contrast there resulted a certain reciprocal want of sympathy and a slight awkwardness in their dealings with each other. This was visible in the year 1866, when representatives of both schools met at Keble's funeral. Church noted in a letter written at the time the impression produced on him by "that strange assembly," and "that meeting of two currents, the old and the new." He had noticed that the effect of Keble's old friends upon the younger men surrounding them on this occasion, such as Mackonochie and Lowder, was that of men of a different age and character.[1] During the following years the Tractarians were more than once, in their private intercourse, to allow glimpses to be seen of this feeling of somewhat uneasy and distrustful surprise,[2] but without impeaching the solemn alliance made by Pusey in 1866. This alliance was a fact of importance to the Ritualists, coming as it did at the time when so general and formidable an attack was made against them. It gave them the advantage of being no longer a more or less isolated vanguard of irregulars, but joined them

[1] Letter of Dean Church to Copeland, April 7, 1866 (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 172).

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 216, 271; *Letters of Lord Blachford*, p. 375.

to the main body of the High Church party. In reality they led that army, absorbed it, imposed on it their own banner and their own mode of warfare. Tractarianism existed no longer except as an historical memory. Henceforth, Ritualism was to occupy the stage, and it was for or against it that the fight was to be waged.

CHAPTER XI

THE RITUALISTS PERSECUTED

I. The Bishops are asked to act against Ritualism—Their powerlessness and embarrassment—Wilberforce and Tait—In default of the Bishops, approaches are made to Parliament—A Royal Commission of Inquiry which produces no decisive results. II. The Church Association decides to sue the Ritualists in the Courts of Justice—The Rev. A. H. Mackonochie—He is proceeded against and convicted on several occasions—His attitude—The Purchas affair and the judgment passed against the Eastward Position—Feeling aroused by these judgments—The notion of disestablishment gains ground—Ritualism is strengthened by persecution. III. Pusey, who is not quite comfortable in Ritualist surroundings, is anxious to make the struggle turn on Eucharistic doctrine—The Bennett affair—It is pronounced lawful to teach the doctrine of the Real Presence. IV. The Broad Churchmen are in favour—Temple is appointed Bishop—Jowett as Master of Balliol—Stanley Dean of Westminster—Their attitude towards Ritualism—The question of the Athanasian Creed—A vehement controversy—Embarrassment and uncertainty of the Bishops—Pusey and Liddon threaten to withdraw from the ministry of the Church of England if the Creed is touched—The matter is settled by an explanatory note. V. Confession, reintroduced by the Tractarians, had aroused vehement attacks from the Protestants—In 1873, 483 clergymen present a petition to Convocation, asking it to provide for the education and appointment of duly qualified confessors—Astonishment and indignation of the Protestants—Report on the matter adopted by the Bishops' House—Twenty-nine clergymen, including Pusey, issue a counter declaration in which they affirm their belief in Confession.

I

THE enemies of Ritualism at first appealed to the Episcopate. At the beginning of 1866 a deputation denounced to the Archbishop of Canterbury the

introduction into Divine Service of practices, which, as they asserted, disturbed the peace and compromised the influence of the Church by their diversity, and by their contradiction with the law and with long-established usage. Lawyers of high standing were consulted in order to establish the illegality of these practices. The English Church Union at once replied by legal opinions and statements of an opposite tendency. The Bishops found no means of escape, and the question was naturally one of the subjects discussed at the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in February, 1866.

Convocation had not hitherto occupied itself with Ritualism, whether because its attention had been absorbed by other subjects such as *Essays and Reviews* or Colenso's book, or, that the Bishops were aware of the impossibility of coming to a common decision on this matter, as on so many others. None of them approved of extreme Ritualism, but they differed as to what ceremonial should be allowed; still less did they agree as to the manner of exercising their power, or as to the limits and even the existence of that power. Hesitation and uncertainty marked even the two Bishops, Wilberforce, of Oxford, and Tait, of London, whom people were acccustomed to regard as the heads of the opposed parties in the Episcopate.

Wilberforce felt the need for a development of ceremonial, but trembled at the thought of being compromised in a Romanizing movement. "You are mistaken," he wrote to one of those who attacked him, "in thinking that I like Romish rites and ceremonies. Everything Romish stinks in my nostrils."[1] This accounted for the

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 359.

inconsistency of his behaviour. Sometimes he seemed to encourage Ritualism, sometimes he disowned it. Very much opposed to the idea of Parliamentary or judicial intervention, he would have liked to leave the question in the hands of the Bishops, but judged it impossible and dangerous to ask them to take any collective step. He was reduced to leaving the matter in the hands of each diocesan, without being able to give any satisfactory reply to those who objected that this would give rise to contradictory episcopal directions.[1] Tait's Presbyterian origin, his half-Evangelical and half-Broad Church opinions, his unimaginative piety, made him more opposed to Ritualism than he had been to Tractarianism. Accordingly, as Bishop of London, he lost no private or public opportunity of expressing himself in terms of scornful severity regarding the "follies," childish mimicries, "innovations or returns to old usages of the unreformed Church, which I believe likely to break down the barriers which mark in the minds of simple people the distinction between our worship and that of Rome."[2] He was, however, much less resolute in repressing them than might have been expected from his character and his conduct at a later period. He would not allow, as he said on several occasions, any judicial proceedings to be taken against the innovators; he dreaded the agitation that might follow, and thought the part he might have to play would be a very unpleasant one. "I deprecate," he said, "following such cases from court to court for many reasons, not the least because I cannot bear that one whose title

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 187-190, 198-200.

[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 220, 241 (see also his Charge of December, 1866, pp. 441-443).

in the Church is that of a Father in God should prosecute the very persons for whom he has a deep respect."[1] This last point is worthy of notice. In fact, Tait's natural antipathy towards the Ritualists was counteracted by the esteem and admiration he felt for their apostolical zeal.[2] Being asked in 1863 by an American Bishop why he permitted the Ritualistic practices of his clergy in East London, he replied in a tone of emotion and with tears in his eyes, that those men, who realized that poor lost souls could be saved, were doing the Lord's work in their own way. Failing judicial proceedings, Tait knew of no other means of action than the peaceable and discreet power of admonition with which each Bishop was divinely invested—a rather platonic course, for he owned that he was without legal means of constraint in case a clergyman should refuse to give heed to his admonitions.[3] At last, seeing nothing but dangers, difficulties, and weakness, he came to the conclusion, consonant with his Erastian notions, that the evils of excessive Ritualism could not be remedied unless, either by the decision of the Courts or by fresh legislation, some new method was secured for the exercise of controlling power on the part of the ordinary.

Under these conditions there was nothing to be hoped for from the Upper House of Convocation. After a fruitless deliberation,[4] it only succeeded in February, 1867, in drawing up the general declaration, preceded by a long preamble, little favourable to the Ritualistic innovations, that no alteration in the ritual sanctioned by long usage

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., p. 404 (*cf.* also pp. 221, 419).
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 438, 497.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 240-243, 413.
[4] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 191-194.

ought to be made in churches without the permission of the Bishop of the diocese.[1] But as to what the Bishop ought or ought not to sanction the declaration was silent. And above all, it did not appear that this invitation to refer the matter to the Bishop had any coercive force which could prevail over the habit, long adopted by the Ritualists, of doing as they wished without any regard to the opinions of the Bishops. Thus among the public, and among those interested on both sides, no one believed that the question advanced a step. The *Times* pointed out the irremediable divisions of the Episcopate, and scornfully sympathized with its impotence.[2] The Bishops themselves had no illusions in regard to the state of things, and in the following year Tait complained in Convocation that the recommendations of Convocation in the previous spring had fallen upon deaf ears.

"I am afraid," he added, "that with regard to certain persons, who are promoters of these observances, we must take it for granted, through their own declarations in their evidence, that they do not regard the decision which this House arrived at as in any way binding. They apparently are unwilling to be guided by their individual Bishops. . . . Our efforts have proved a failure: this evil, be it what it may, exists unchecked, the disquietude in the public mind is increasing, and the contentions also, I am sorry to say, are increasing."[3]

The insubordination complained of by Tait was only too apparent. He had encountered it more than once in his own diocese, and it had manifested itself from the very origin of the Ritualistic Movement. One of its initiators,

[1] *Life of Tait*, p. 406.
[2] See especially an article of February 21, 1868.
[3] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 411, 412.

Dr. Neale, boasted, after sixteen years of contention with his Bishop, that he had never withdrawn a single word, or modified a custom, except in certain cases, when he went further. The Ritualists made no scruple of this want of obedience, which seemed to them justified by discredit attaching to the Bishops. They argued that no religious progress would have been possible, and no movement would ever have taken place had the Bishops been listened to. The same spirit of independence was shown by the Sisterhoods. The Mother Superior of one of the new convents, having asked Tait, in 1867, to institute a Chaplain whom she had chosen for the Community, the Bishop wished to enforce the condition that the Chaplain should not encourage habitual confession among the Sisters, and that no vows should be taken. A correspondence followed, the end of which was that the Mother Superior informed the Bishop that she had laid the matter before her Community, who had unanimously decided that, painful as it was to them to be at variance with their Bishop, they could not accept his conditions, and that nothing was left them to do but to dispense with his sanction for the choice of their Chaplain.[1]

The failure of Episcopal authority led the opponents of Ritualism to turn to the State for the repression which they deemed necessary. This appeal to the secular power was in accordance with their doctrine. Several futile efforts to obtain Parliamentary intervention had already been made, but in 1867 a more serious attempt was undertaken. Lord Shaftesbury, seizing on the hotly disputed question of vestments, brought forward a Bill in the House of Lords confining the officiating clergyman to

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 459-463.

the use of a simple surplice. This was an attempt to deal, outside the Church, with a question of purely ecclesiastical discipline. The Bishops took no offence, for almost all of them, the Primate at their head, showed themselves at first favourable to the proposal. Wilberforce alone seemed to realize that the Episcopate was committing suicide, in being dragged at the tail of Shaftesbury; he protested against what he styled "the ignomy" of this attitude, and strove, with his habitual impetuosity and activity, to check the scheme. He first of all succeeded in moving the Primate, over whose somewhat wavering mind he had considerable influence. At the same time, taking advantage of his personal relations with the Tories then in power, he endeavoured to make them concur in his design. On his suggestion, Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, obtained the adjournment of Lord Shaftesbury's proposal, by announcing the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into all rubrical questions.

Appointed on June 3, 1867, the Commission was composed of fifteen laymen and fourteen ecclesiastics. The majority were opposed to Ritualism, at least in its extreme form; but the minority, led by Wilberforce, aimed only at mitigating the resolutions which would be adopted. After two months spent in hearing witnesses on both sides, the Commissioners issued in August a first report, which dealt only with the question of vestments. They said:

"We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services . . . all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the . . . Church, and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress."

Notwithstanding this unfavourable judgment, it failed to satisfy the opponents of Ritualism. It was remarked that it spoke of restraining, not of prohibiting, the use of vestments, and that only in case of complaints from the parishioners was restriction to be imposed; and finally, that no means of carrying it out was indicated. Wilberforce regarded this decision as a triumphant success. The Commission, he wrote to a friend, had saved them, as he believed, from Parliamentary interference.[1]

II

As no effectual measure of restraint against the Ritualists had been obtained from the Bishops or from Parliament, the Church Association determined to appeal to the Courts of Justice, and entered upon the series of lawsuits which lasted for more than twenty years and gave so unwonted an appearance to this religious struggle. The tribunals competent to deal with the matter had already been engaged in the Gorham case and the *Essays and Reviews* controversy. These were, in the first instance, the Court of Arches, nominally an ecclesiastical court by its origin, but presided over for some time by a single lay judge, and, as a Court of Appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, composed of lawyers, to whom, in certain cases, some Bishops were joined as assessors. The latter

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 215, 216; *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, p. 146. The Commission did not stop at this. It continued its inquiry, and published in 1868 a second report, in which, in spite of Wilberforce's vehement opposition, it declared itself for a law forbidding lighted candles and incense as contrary to the usage of the Church for 300 years, and it proposed to establish a summary and cheap procedure which could be adopted by parishioners who were offended by these innovations.

was a purely civil or even a political tribunal, of which the Bishop of Manchester said in its praise that it was a court composed of men who looked at things not only with the eyes of lawyers, but with the eyes of statesmen. That such a tribunal should be the sovereign judge of the internal discipline and of the liturgy of the Church was not a matter to trouble the Low Church party, who were entirely estranged from the aspirations towards independence beginning to appear among other parties in the Anglican Church. They saw only that the former decisions of the Privy Council had shown little favour towards the High Church party, and they were thus encouraged to seek its intervention anew.

This plan, however, was not without drawbacks. Proceedings could only be taken by a parishioner who felt aggrieved by the ritualistic innovations of his pastor, and the costs of these proceedings rose to enormous figures, such as £2,000, £4,000, £8,000, and even £12,000. Though in case of condemnation this expense was overwhelming for the prosecuted clergyman, there was a risk, in case of acquittal, of its having to be borne by the prosecutor. A private person would not expose himself to such an expense unless he were supported by the Church Association. Accordingly the parishioners who took the initiative in the various proceedings were generally mere agents of this society. The latter, at the beginning of its campaign, decided, at a meeting held in Willis's Rooms, to raise a fund of £50,000. In the end it boasted of having spent £80,000, and of having, at this cost, obtained sixty decisions against Ritualists.[1]

[1] *Cf.* the numerous tracts published by the Association, especially *The Past Labours of the Church Association*, by Mr. Greaves Bagshawe.

The first of these prosecutions was directed against the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn. Thus began the long judicial struggle which this clergyman maintained for sixteen years with indomitable tenacity, and which made him the most representative member of the Ritualistic party at that period. Born in 1825, of Scottish descent, and brought up in an atmosphere of rigid Calvinism, Mackonochie went to Oxford in the beginning of 1845, at the very time when the fear of Newman's secession was throwing the Tractarian school into confusion. Through his need of a solid faith and of an active and deep piety, he soon fell under the influence of Marriott—an old follower of Newman, and at this time Pusey's chief lieutenant. Ordained in 1849, he was sent to Westbury, and afterwards to Wantage, a High Church centre, where one of the first Anglican Sisterhoods was founded. But he longed for a more militant life. Whilst thinking of becoming a missionary he heard of the work attempted by the Ritualists in London in the crowded and miserable parish of St. George's-in-the-East. He at once offered himself for the work, and, arriving at the time of the riots of 1858, was soon noted for his active and effective zeal. Those most alien from his ideas bore testimony to this. "I have no better man in my diocese," said Bishop Tait. Accordingly, when in a no less neglected part of London the beautiful Church of St. Alban's was completed, in 1863, Mackonochie was appointed vicar by its founder.

He at once gave himself up to his new flock, particularly to the poorest of them, aided by zealous colleagues with whom he lived in a community. The results which he obtained from what seemed so unfruitful a soil brought

him into notice. Not that he was remarkable for his scholarship or his eloquence, but he had the ardour and devotion of an apostle, and impressed people also by his austere and disinterested life. His leading characteristic was an indomitable will, and a tenacity which bordered on obstinacy. He considered the approbation of others of no importance, but, guided by a fixed idea, he went straight to his purpose without any regard for chance obstacles, undisturbed by any alarm, with something of the spirit which had formerly animated his Highland ancestors, and sustained them in battle. He was, perhaps, slightly narrow-minded and abrupt, incapable of entering into the views of others or of foreseeing pitfalls in his own path. He proclaimed openly his dislike of "compromise," and in 1865, speaking of a man who was called a "moderate," he said: "This I abhor, because it seems to me that it commonly means a man who lacks courage, either moral or spiritual, to carry out his principles to their legitimate issue."[1] Although personally free from any temptation to join the Roman Church, he did not fear to seek food for his piety, which was deep and sincere, in her practices. One of his favourite books was the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*. When in Catholic countries he frequented shrines and reverenced the memory of the Saints, being greatly moved, for example, by a visit to the place where the Curé d'Ars had lived. He had a great devotion for the Cross. He asked a friend, who offered to paint a picture for him, that it should represent a large figure of Jesus crucified, bruised, covered with wounds, and marked with stripes. It was before this austere crucifix, before this bleeding image, that he made his daily medi-

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, p. 136.

tation and said his prayers. When called to the service of others, he was often seen in the street, so absorbed in the recitation of his office that several times he sustained injuries.[1] He was one of the first associates of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. A "Master" of the Society of the Holy Cross, he voluntarily embraced all that was most severe in the rules of that Society, particularly the rule of celibacy. He at once introduced into his parish a very advanced Ritualism, and the services of St. Alban's were soon looked upon as the type of their class. He was not prompted by the love of æstheticism, being anything but an artist or a poet. Forms only interested him as the necessary and effectual manifestation of the truths that he hoped to revive in regard to Eucharistic devotion and the Sacrament of Penance. His great desire was to render the celebrations of the Eucharist more numerous and solemn, to encourage frequent and more fervent communion, and to propagate the habit of confession. The results he obtained gave a special note to his Church. People came from afar to be present at the High Masses sung at St. Alban's, and his confessional attracted numberless penitents of all conditions. He was regardless of what the religious authorities might think of this. He restored the use of unction for the sick, and on being once asked: "But from where do you procure the holy oil which ought to be blessed by a Bishop?" "The Bishop failing," he replied, "the duty falls on the Priest." And as he spoke he poured into his pocket-flask a little olive oil from a bottle.

From the very beginning the ritual adopted at St. Alban's aroused the complaints and objections of the

[1] *Memories of a Sister of St. Saviour's Priory*, pp. 179, 180.

founder of this church. Tait, being asked to interfere, addressed representations to the vicar, which he made as friendly as possible owing to the esteem he could not help feeling for Mackonochie's work. The latter replied in the same tone but without changing one iota of his practices.[1]

In the course of 1867 the Church Association determined on legal proceedings,[2] and finding no resident parishioner to take the responsibility of the case, had recourse to a Mr. John Martin, who had formerly taken an interest in the schools of the district. Bishop Tait being appealed to for "letters of investigation" to sanction the interference of the Court of Arches, regretfully acceded to the request. "Here," he said, "is a man who is doing the noblest of work, in the most degraded part of London, and yet I cannot refuse my consent to a suit for his suspension."[3] The Court of Arches pronounced sentence on March 28, 1868. Taking a middle course, it condemned the use of incense, the elevation of the Host above the head of the celebrant, and the mixing of water in the chalice during the service, but allowed the use of lighted candles. The genuflection of the celebrant was not judged illegal, but the matter was left to the discretion of the Bishop. Mackonochie seemed disposed to accept this decision, but the Church Association was not satisfied with a partial success, and appealed to the Privy Council. The latter justified the trust placed in it, and passed sentence upon all the points against

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 68-80; *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 423-428.

[2] On this trial and those which followed it, see *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, p. 138 *et seq.*; *Life of Tait*, vol. i., p. 428 *et seq.*; Bayfield Roberts, *History of the English Church Union*, *passim*.

[3] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 103.

Mackonochie on December 23, 1868, condemning him to pay the costs of both trials. Wilberforce himself, although unsympathetic towards extreme Ritualism, described this sentence as evidently partial, and as being apparently intended "to please the *Times*." According to him the lawyers had been equally divided, and the Archbishop of York gave the casting vote.[1] On January 19, 1869, the Vicar of St. Alban's received a monition, the mere wording of which was sufficient to show how ridiculous the interference of a political court was in such matters. Queen Victoria in this case herself addressed Mr. Mackonochie by name, commanding him to abstain in the future from elevating the chalice and the paten, from incense, from mixing wine and water, from kneeling during the consecration, and from the use of lighted candles. It was not to be wondered at that the English Church Union found in this document a subject-matter for protest, and that it denied the authority of a non-ecclesiastical Court, and recalled the urgent necessity for a reform, already several times demanded in recent years, of the supreme jurisdiction in religious matters.[2] These representations, however, were not likely to stop the Church Association which, still under the ægis of Mr. Martin, instigated in December, 1868, a fresh prosecution against Mackonochie for not having obeyed the monition. In vain he defended himself by explaining that he did not elevate the elements above his head, the only practice forbidden, but contented himself with the lesser elevation allowed by the Court of Arches; in vain he protested that he did not kneel, or prostrate himself, but only bent the knee. The Privy

[1] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 294.
[2] Bayfield Roberts, *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 109, 110.

Council did not seem in the least embarrassed at having to measure these liturgical gestures; it was ready to admit that the accused had not elevated the elements too high, but it decided that he had knelt too low, and according to its usual custom it condemned him to all the costs of the action.

Barely ten days had elapsed since this judgment, when the Church Association, still implacable, sent to St. Alban's spies hired at two guineas a day, and on their report instituted further proceedings against Mackonochie for illegal elevation and genuflection. In spite of contrary affirmations, the Privy Council judged (on November 25, 1870) that the accused had exceeded the limit allowed in the elevation of the elements, and that in substituting for the genuflection a humble prostration of the body as a sign of respect, he had disobeyed the monition. For this crime it was thought insufficient, as formerly, to charge him with the costs, but he was to be inhibited from his office for three months. The judgment also directed against him this strange reproach, that he had carefully scanned the monition and the Order in Council to see how nearly he could preserve the prohibited ceremonies without disobeying the law of the State, and concluded that he had been again foiled in his attempt to satisfy his conscience and shelter himself behind a strictly literal obedience. This sentence brought to a climax the feeling and indignation of a part of the religious world. A cry arose in all ranks of the English Church Union that obedience was impossible to such decisions. Addresses were sent to Mackonochie denying the Privy Council's right to suspend those spiritual powers which were conferred upon him by the " Divine authority " of the Episcopate, and promising

to use all possible means to recover for the Church of England the power of determining spiritual causes, which was her inherent right.[1]

Implacable as had been the proceedings, it did not appear that they had accomplished anything decisive. During Mackonochie's suspension the services continued at St. Alban's as in the past, and when he resumed his functions at the end of three months he continued his former customs. Whether his opponents were exhausted or not, they kept quiet for the moment. They had not, however, definitely disarmed, as was shown by the sequel.

In the midst of these trials Mackonochie remained imperturbable. In vain was he pursued by lawsuits, ruined by fines, attacked by the newspapers, even denounced on placards throughout his own district as a wily and demoralizing priest, the cunning emissary of Rome, a traitor to his Church, and a disgrace to the country which gave him birth; in vain did a large part of the public look upon him as a maniac in obstinate rebellion—everything, lawsuits, persecutions, admonitions, invectives, abuse, calumny, unpopularity, all ran off his robust constitution "like water off a duck's back."[2] Whilst meeting the attack, he vigorously continued his missionary work and his devotion to his flock, above all to the poorest of them, and applied himself with equal ardour to his exercises of prayer. He was not for a moment troubled at finding himself in opposition to the religious authorities, and particularly to Tait, his own Bishop. In reply to a very kind letter addressed to him by the Bishop, he wrote:

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 130, 131.
[2] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 103, 104.

"I hope I am not doing wrong in saying that it is but one more of those many acts of friendliness on the part of your Lordship which make it personally so very grievous to me that I should be paining you by acting under the supreme obligation of obeying my own fullest and most carefully formed convictions as to the teaching of the Church of England, of the whole Church Catholic, and, above all, of the Gospel of Christ. . . . I venture to think that your Lordship is one of the last men in England to wish me to act contrary to my convictions, or to withhold any part of that which I conceive to be the Gospel of Christ from those whom I have to teach. I cannot be ignorant that the full assertion of that which I am convinced is the truth may lead me into serious inconveniences, but I hope that the same God who has revealed it will, by His Grace, carry me through any difficulties which He may suffer to come in my way."[1]

Another celebrated trial of this period was that of the Rev. J. Purchas, Perpetual Curate of St. James's Chapel at Brighton, the author of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, a liturgical manual setting forth the views of advanced Ritualists. Being indicted in 1869 for the numerous innovations of ceremonial introduced into his chapel, he refused to defend himself, alleging his poverty and weak health. The Judge, nevertheless, carried on the case, and gave his decision on February 3, 1870. He condemned as illegal twenty-nine of the practices proceeded against, among others processions, lights on the altar, incense, the mixing of the water in the chalice during the service, the elevation of the Host, genuflection, the *Agnus Dei*, and the metal crucifix. But he admitted as lawful other practices, such as the Eucharistic vestments, the mixing of the water in the chalice when done before the service, vases of flowers, and, above all, the eastward position.

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., p. 434.

By this was understood the custom borrowed by the Ritualistic clergy from the Catholic priests relating to the position observed during the Eucharistic Service—namely, that of standing at the middle of the altar with the back to the congregation instead of standing sideways at the north end of the Communion Table. In the minds both of its partisans and of its opponents, the eastward position was closely associated with the Catholic idea of a priest, offering sacrifice in the name and at the head of the assembled faithful, and hence arose the importance attached to it by both parties.[1]

The prosecutor, in reality the Church Association, did not accept the judgment, and appealed to the Privy Council, which on February 23, 1871, without the accused being defended, declared illegal all the practices sanctioned by the Judge of Arches, especially the eastward position, and condemned the defendant to pay the costs not only of the appeal but those of the Court of first instance. Purchas, who had taken the precaution to safeguard his property under his wife's name, paid nothing, and changed none of his practices. In vain did the Privy Council pronounce his suspension for twelve months, and placarded the order on the chapel door. Purchas continued as if all these decisions did not exist. No one can say what would have happened if this clergyman had not died on October 18, 1872.

This decision of the Privy Council, together with that pronounced against Mackonochie, caused a great agitation; above all as to the question of the eastward position. The words of the Prayer-Book, according to which the

[1] Pusey said at a meeting in 1874 that the fact of standing before the altar signified the primitive doctrine of the *Eucharistic Sacrifice.*

celebrant was to stand "before the Table" were quoted against it. Indignation was caused by this rigour in restricting liberty of ceremonial, though the very same tribunal had shown itself latitudinarian in doctrinal matters when dealing with *Essays and Reviews*. Its claim to have the power of directly suspending an ecclesiastic was at last denounced as an usurpation of the Episcopal power. This discontent was not confined to the group of extreme Ritualists, but was shared by the mass of the High Church party. Nearly five thousand clergymen signed a protest in which they asked the Bishops not to apply the decision relative to the position of the celebrant.[1] Two Canons of St. Paul's, one of whom was Liddon, the distinguished preacher, wrote to the Bishop of London that they would continue to celebrate in the position that seemed to them ordered by the rubrics, and asked to be included in any proceedings taken to enforce the judgment. For a moment there was some thought of accepting the challenge, but it was considered more prudent not to do so.[2] Pusey declared in a public letter to Liddon, that resistance appeared to him a lesser evil than obedience, and that he himself, although up to this time he had no fixed practice, would adopt the eastward position so as not to separate himself from those who were attacked.[3] Moderate men, such as Church and Coleridge, published severe criticisms upon the judgment.[4] Bishop Wilberforce, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then abroad, could not hide the alarm he felt at the disturbance:

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 96, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*; *Life and Letters of Liddon*, by Johnston, pp. 45 to 151.
[3] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 223-225.
[4] Church, *Occasional Papers*, vol. ii., p. 48 *et seq.*

"The mere suppression of vestments," he said, "would have passed quietly enough, but the imperative injunction to consecrate at the north end cuts far deeper and will not be obeyed. . . . It is a very distracting time, and unless God hears our prayers will end in a great schism."[1]

This pessimistic impression was not new to Wilberforce. Several years before, when the first difficulties arose, he wrote: "In this pressure I am often tempted to believe that the days of our Establishment are numbered and few."[2]

Those who had reason to complain of the irritating and oppressive interventions of the civil courts began, indeed, to ask themselves whether the Church ought not to buy her independence, sacrificing the material advantages she gained by her position as a State Church. The idea of disestablishment was gaining ground, not only among the extremists of the Ritualistic party, but among the old Tractarians. Pusey foresaw an inevitable religious revolution, and believed that the days of the Establishment were numbered. It seemed to him necessary that the Church should be freed from the tyranny of the State at any cost. If he were prevented from joining those who wished for disestablishment, on account of the temporal and spiritual losses that might result to the country parishes, he yet added that he and his party might be driven to decide whether it was right, *propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas*, for the sake of an Establishment which had such a precarious life, to see that wrested from them which alone gave to Establishments their value.[3]

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 94, 95.

[2] *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 229.

[3] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 199-202, 207, 208, 223, 224. On reflection, however, Pusey seemed afterwards to have repudiated all inclina-

Liddon expressed similar views. Church, in his public writings, tried to warn his friends against the temptation to seek in disestablishment a remedy against the encroachments of the State, and insisted upon the disappointments which such a transformation would bring them; nevertheless, he did not at heart believe it possible to delay it for long, and in a private letter, in which he expressed himself with less reserve, he wrote:

"I think, sometimes, that we are nearer than we know to a great break-up. The difficulty is beginning to be more visible every day, of reconciling a Church with great privileges with the general set of modern policy; of combining a National Church with a Church having the *raison d'être* of a religious society, believing in a definite religion, and teaching it."[1]

The Church Association did not look so far ahead. It cared little about unrest of consciences or the peril that might ensue to the very existence of the Anglican Church. Far from moderating itself, its sole idea was to profit by its victory, to advance still further, and to obtain other convictions against the Ritualists. It invited its adherents to redouble their vigilance, to spare no one, to multiply complaints, to make a great uproar, and it engaged in fresh lawsuits in various dioceses. And yet, by looking at things coolly it could have seen the sorry result to which this great effort of persecution would lead. Far

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tion towards disestablishment. In 1877, having learnt that a thousand clergymen had pronounced in favour of that measure, he wrote: "They must be very short-sighted or blinded by self-contemplation if they do not see that disestablishment would leave them a small minority or *ecclesiola*. . . . Disestablishment would be hopeless disruption, in which the only gainer would be Rome" (*Ibid.*, p. 289).

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 186, 187.

from crushing the Ritualists, it seemed to strengthen them. On this point also we may quote Church, whose evidence is all the more weighty, in that personally he had little liking for the new form of High Church practice. In an article published in 1871, he wrote:

"The position of the High Church party is a remarkable one. It has had more against it than its rivals; yet it is probably the strongest of them all. It is said, probably with reason, to be the unpopular party. It has been the stock subject of abuse and sarcasm with a large portion of the Press. It has been equally obnoxious to Radical small shopkeepers and true blue farmers and their squires. It has been mobbed in churches and censured in Parliament. Things have gone against it, almost uniformly, before the tribunals. And unfortunately it cannot be said that it has been without its full share of folly and extravagance in some of its members. And yet it is the party which has grown; which has drawn some of its antagonists to itself, and has reacted on the ideas and habits of others; its members have gradually, as a matter of course, risen into important post and power."[1]

III

Pusey, whilst continuing publicly to side with the persecuted Ritualists, did not cease to be privately a little surprised and impatient at their proceedings. In November, 1867, at a meeting of the English Church Union, he insisted upon the necessity of not introducing a new ceremonial into any church against the wish of the parishioners —an opinion which was not accepted without difficulty. He had, as he wrote to a friend, three-fourths or four-fifths of the meeting against him, and they only gave way when he said that if such a proposition were rejected he

[1] *Occasional Papers*, by Church, vol. ii., pp. 61, 62.

could be of no more use to the English Church Union or to Ritualism. He could tell from the scraping of feet during the discussion that his opponents had the hearts of the meeting.[1] On several occasions afterwards he had the same impression.[2] He felt himself ill at ease on the grounds upon which the struggle had entered, and would have preferred to fight about the doctrines symbolized by forms of worship, instead of about the forms themselves; particularly the Eucharistic doctrine which the upholders and opponents of Ritualism seemed alike to have in mind. Was this impossible? Did not the Church Association constantly repeat that it repudiated the new ceremonial because it implied and expressed the doctrine of the Eucharistic presence, sacrifice, and adoration? In 1867 Pusey had brought into prominence a phrase in the resolution of the Bishops in which the Ritualists were accused of favouring errors deliberately rejected by the Church of England. He asked if by these "errors" was to be understood the Catholic doctrine upon the Eucharist which he, as well as the Ritualists, professed. And he seized the occasion to make a public challenge to his opponents and to the Bishops themselves. If, he declared, it should be decided by a competent authority that either the Real Objective Presence or the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or the worship of Christ there present, were contrary to the doctrine held by the Church of England, he would resign his office. This challenge was not taken up. In vain Pusey renewed it soon afterwards, inviting one of his accusers, the Rev. C. P. Golightly, to institute proceedings against him. Golightly took no

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 216.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 271, 272.

such step.[1] The following year, however, the Church Association consented to advance upon the doctrinal grounds where Pusey challenged it. It caused proceedings to be taken against the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett on account of the doctrine he had expressed concerning the Real Presence in a public letter to Pusey. The latter, to his great regret, could not succeed in being implicated in the suit, whose course he anxiously followed. The Court of Arches decreed, on July 23, 1870, that it was lawful in the Church of England to teach the objective, actual and spiritual, Presence in the Eucharist, and that the assertions of Mr. Bennett upon the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Eucharistic worship did not exceed the liberty resulting from the formularies and from the language of theologians. An appeal was made to the Privy Council, and Pusey's anxiety was redoubled. At last, on June 8, 1872, this supreme tribunal confirmed the decision of the Court of Arches. Pusey was triumphant. On the day following the first decision he had already written that it was a great defeat for the Church Association. That the Privy Council, whose hostility to everything that seemed Catholic was known, should have pronounced in the same sense, was a still greater event. Pusey recalled the time when, in 1843, the University authorities had deprived him for two years of the right of preaching in the University pulpit for having expounded these same doctrines.[2] He congratulated himself upon the progress made since those days. But viewing the matter more closely there was little occasion for self-congratulation. For this, to him, primordial truth of the Real Presence had only

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 214, 215.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-219, 225, 226.

obtained a tolerance which was equally accorded to the contrary doctrine regarded by him as the worst of heresies. The judgment should not have satisfied men who prided themselves on restoring the authority of dogma, and a Church in which the Supreme Authority declared it lawful to hold opposite tenets was anomalous. But Pusey seemed undisturbed, and retained entire confidence in the position of Anglicanism.

IV

On this doctrinal ground, the most pronounced and formidable opponents whom Pusey encountered were not the Evangelicals but the Broad Churchmen. Since the Privy Council had decided in favour of the latter in the case of *Essays and Reviews*, and in that of Colenso, they carried their heads high. Ministers, whether Tory or Liberal, were inclined to give a large share in the government of the Church to men who were regarded as more or less openly favourable to the Broad Church school.

In 1868 Disraeli elevated Tait to the Primatial See of Canterbury, and towards the close of 1869 Gladstone nominated Dr. Temple, one of the authors of *Essays and Reviews*, to Exeter, not, however, without creating in the religious world a still more violent storm than that which twenty-two years previously had greeted Dr. Hampden's promotion to the Episcopacy. High Church and Low Church found themselves again temporarily united in common indignation, as in the days of the struggle against *Essays and Reviews*. A committee of protest was formed, with Lord Shaftesbury as Chairman and Pusey as Vice-Chairman. Pusey was so deeply moved that he broke with Gladstone. If some vigorous resistance were

not made, he said, thousands must take refuge in Rome from an *Essay and Review* Church.[1] Every means of procedure was adopted to prevent Dr. Temple's consecration, but all failed, as in the case of Dr. Hampden, before the ministerial omnipotence, and the new Bishop took possession of his diocese. He was destined to ascend still higher, and to become, in 1885, Bishop of London, and in 1896 Primate of all England. To the surprise of those who had opposed his first promotion, he proved himself, in the administration of his high functions, to be energetic, high-principled, and impartial, rather conservative in his tendencies, and allowing ample tolerance to High Churchmen.

What testified still more to the progress of the Broad Church party was the increasing importance of men who represented it in its most extreme form. Jowett, formerly so much opposed at Oxford, now exercised a preponderating influence there. The Mastership of Balliol falling vacant in 1870, he, without the slightest difficulty, obtained the post, which in 1854 he had solicited without success. He ruled, until his death, with a recognized, though sometimes rather domineering, authority, over the old College, and through it over a good part of the University. But in proportion as his condition became more elevated, the less did he feel able to formulate his beliefs, which were continually growing less definite. Criticism, to which he never offered any resistance, allowed hardly any of his theological convictions to survive. He undertook to write a *Life of Christ*, with the intention of substituting for the historical and personal Christ, Who had no longer any reality in his mind, a purely ideal Christ, but he could

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 207, 208.

not succeed in giving precision to his thought, and to those who inquired why he did not finish the work, he replied, with tears in his eyes: "Because I cannot. God has not given me the power to do it."[1] Being obliged by his position to preach, he avoided all dogmatic subjects, spoke of worldly philosophy and morality, or even transformed his sermons into biographical lectures, often on personages quite alien from Christianity. He professed to admire Renan and to share many of his ideas, with the difference that, thanks to the latitudinarianism of the Church of England, he did not feel any obligation to leave its fold; on the contrary, he became more strenuous in preserving his ecclesiastical position. He prided himself, moreover, on being religious, even pious, much occupied in his own fashion with the thought of God and the love of Christ, although he acknowledged that he could not pray to them. Among the unlooked-for characteristics in Jowett, at this period of his social zenith, were his fashionable inclinations. The old scholar, timid and awkward, a familiar figure in his black coat and white cravat, whether in town or country, now displayed himself particular in the choice of aristocratic acquaintances, and made use of a clever diplomacy to secure them. He was never happier than when receiving fine ladies who, for their part, were proud, with a sort of intellectual snobbishness, of their friendship with the famous Master of Balliol.

Whilst Jowett held his Mastership at Oxford, his friend Stanley, appointed Dean of Westminster through the favour of the Queen, whose friend he had married, became one of the most prominent personages in England.[2] In

[1] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. ii., p. 440.
[2] *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, vol. ii., *passim*.

possession of a rich benefice which exempted him from Episcopal jurisdiction, he made his Deanery the citadel of the Broad Church party. Henceforward it was with a sort of indifferent disregard for the dissatisfaction of the ecclesiastical authorities, or the alarm of religious opinion, that he practised and laid stress upon the anti-dogmatic latitudinarianism which had for some time formed the basis of his ideas. If anyone suspected of heresy was suspended from preaching by his Bishop, Stanley at once invited him to preach in the Abbey: it was his way of protesting against what he disliked above all else—orthodox intolerance. In his desire to "enlarge the Christian Church," he proposed a series of lectures to be delivered in the nave of the Abbey by Nonconformist ministers or even by non-Christian scholars. On the solemn occasion, in 1870, of the inauguration of the Commission appointed to revise the translation of the Old Testament, he admitted to Communion a Unitarian minister who, as such, rejected the Divinity of Christ. The scandal was so great that Convocation passed a vote of censure, to which, indeed, Stanley gave little heed. Some years previously, in 1867, the Archbishop of Canterbury, having expressed a desire to conduct at Westminster the closing service of the Conference to which all the Anglican Bishops of the world had been invited, Stanley had refused, owing to his doubt as to what decision the Conference would make in regard to the Colenso affair. His sympathies were given in preference to the rebels of all religious denominations, and he expressed great compassion for the ex-Catholic priest, Père Hyacinthe, for M. Renan, and for Dr. Döllinger.

This attitude and the ardour, at times somewhat bitter, with which he threw himself into controversy, made him

more and more suspected by the orthodox, who, in 1872, vainly attempted to prevent his name being inscribed upon the list of select preachers before the University of Oxford. But at the same time, owing to his personal charm and his graceful manner, as also to the fascination of his drawing-room where distinguished men of all nations and opinions gathered together, and to the graceful hospitality with which he invited all to his beloved Abbey, this much-criticized clergyman enjoyed a universal popularity in the great world, such as no other dignitary of the Anglican Church has known; he was to become, as Jowett said, "a delight of society," and Tait wrote of him that no other ecclesiastic ever exercised such a fascination over the public, especially its more highly educated members.

This influence lasted until his death in 1881. And yet, towards the end, the mind of this man, apparently so happy, seemed to be veiled in melancholy. He perceived that he no longer had the ear of the younger generation. He had hoped that the future, at least the immediate future, would have adopted his ideas of comprehensive and tolerant latitudinarianism, of serenity in dogmatic indifference; but he felt that that future was disappointing him, that the religious world was becoming more than ever a field of battle, in which believers and non-believers fought against one another. This he implied in an address delivered to the University of St. Andrews in 1877, when he said that the present day belonged to the destroyers, the cynics, the men of party spirit. In October, 1880, on his return from a visit to Oxford, he said that this visit had filled him with sad thoughts, and made him feel how completely he belonged to another period of existence.[1]

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, vol. ii., pp. 11, 463, 534, 550.

In fact, Stanley, unlike his High Church opponents, was not destined to form his followers into a school, or any definite and powerful propagandist party. Of the brilliant figure of the Dean of Westminster there only remains a pleasing but sterile memory. Not, indeed, that the doubt and indifference in regard to dogma, which were the characteristics of his religious state, have to-day disappeared from the Anglican Church. But what tends to disappear, owing to the deeper and more serious way in which the Oxford Movement made men think of the Christian life, is that tranquillity amidst the ruin of positive beliefs, owing to which Stanley had not once asked himself whether he could conscientiously keep his ecclesiastical dignities. To-day most of those who think as he did do not enter into Orders, or, if they do, they give them up, like Robert Elsmere, the hero of Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel.

The members of the Broad Church party had naturally no liking for the ceremonial innovations of the Ritualists, but they did not oppose them in the same acrimonious spirit as the Low Churchmen. They were rather disposed to regard these disputes with indifference and even disdain. Such was the feeling of Stanley concerning what he called "the materialism" of the altar and the sacristy. Nevertheless, his sincere aversion from intolerance made him protest against the popular violence of which the Ritualists were victims, and, borrowing an expression from Calvin, he described their practices as "*tolerabiles ineptiæ*."[1] As for Jowett, Tait wrote of him, at a moment when the Ritualistic controversy was at its height: "He has a strange mind. It is amusing to note how entirely

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, vol. ii., pp. 184, 185, 208, 214.

uninterested he is on all the peculiar subjects now exercising the clerical mind. He lives in a region of critical and metaphysical theology apart by himself."[1]

When, however, controversy arose upon the question of doctrine and dogma apart from forms, the Broad Churchmen showed a very belligerent spirit, and the Ritualists found them in the front rank of their opponents. This was apparent in what has been called the "Athanasian Creed Question." This creed, which is admitted to-day to be the work not of the Bishop of Alexandria, but of an unknown author who lived probably between the end of the fifth and the seventh century, is consecrated by the tradition of the Latin and Greek Churches as one of the primitive monuments of the Catholic Faith, of almost equal rank with the creeds called the "Apostles" and the "Nicene." Its special object was to establish with rigorous precision, in opposition to the heretics of the fifth century, the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, as defined by the Councils. To give more force to this exposition, the compiler of the Creed added what have been called the "damnatory clauses"—that is to say, the solemn and repeated affirmation that "whosoever will be saved" must believe in the truths therein declared; and that those who do not keep them "whole and undefiled" shall "perish everlastingly," an affirmation which, after all, was not of a nature to surprise minds accustomed to theological language, being indeed only the equivalent of the anathemas ordinarily accompanying the definitions of a Council. In the Roman liturgy this Creed is recited at the Office of Prime on Sunday when no higher festival occurs. According to the rubrics of the Anglican Prayer-

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 430.

Book, it is to be recited in the service of Matins at least twenty-three times a year.[1]

Protests early arose in the English Church against the public recitation of a document, the dogmatic rigidity of which alarmed the more or less avowed latitudinarianism of some of its members. But loud though the protests had been at certain times, no modification was made in the rubrics, although as a matter of fact the custom of not reciting this Creed had been gradually introduced in many parishes.

The Oxford Movement, by kindling the zeal of the clergy, brought a reaction against this negligence. The Athanasian Creed was more regularly recited, and thus furnished fresh reasons for repeated protestations. Some members of the congregations, in sign of protest, remained seated, and closed their books as soon as the Creed began. This was not the only point upon which it caused a difficulty. Among the Thirty-Nine Articles that had to be signed by all candidates for Holy Orders, there was one, the Eighth, which demanded that the three Creeds—those of Nicea, of St. Athanasius, and of the Apostles—should most thoroughly be received and believed. Several candidates showed scruples about subscribing to the Athanasian Creed, because, they said, they could not believe all its assertions nor associate them-

[1] Those who desire to suppress this Creed from the Anglican liturgy have often argued that that liturgy alone gives it a place in the public services, whilst in the Roman liturgy it only figures in the Breviary privately recited by the priests. This is an error due to the fact that in the Anglican Church Matins has, to the detriment of the Celebration of the Eucharist, become the principal office which the faithful prefer to attend, whilst among Catholics the Office of Prime is only recited in some churches, and usually in the presence of a small congregation.

selves with its anathemas; at the most they were willing, like Arnold, to retain the Creed among the documents of the Church as an historic witness of the ancient faith of the Christian Society. The only escape from these difficulties of conscience was to employ a mental reservation, of which men like Stanley and Jowett were the first to give an example, and which reduced subscription to a mere formality without meaning or seriousness. However, the use of such ambiguities was felt to be troublesome, and added another to the many complaints against this unlucky Creed.

The meeting of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Rubrics was a suitable occasion for the opponents of the Athanasian Creed to propose its removal from the liturgy, or, at least, the deletion of the damnatory clauses.[1] The Commission, influenced by Bishop Wilberforce, refused to adopt these suggestions, and limited itself, in its fourth report, published in 1870, to a proposal to add to the Creed a rubric saying that the condemnations in this Confession of Faith were to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully rejected the Catholic Faith. The report was signed by thirty-seven members of the Commission, but seventeen members dissented, among whom was the Primate, Tait. These latter drew up a protest in which they declared themselves for the suppression of the Creed in the Offices of the Church, and at once the question became a matter of public controversy.

The dispute was immediately taken up with singular

[1] On this question and the incidents that followed, see *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 125, 162; *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 228, 260; *Life of Stanley*, vol. ii., pp. 222-235; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 388-393.

vivacity. The most ardent opponents of the Creed were the Broad Churchmen, headed by Stanley. They spoke in contemptuous terms of "this barbarous product of a barbarous age," of these formulas which could no longer convey to the mind "any intelligible idea," and they demanded the release of scrupulous consciences from the obligations to sign or recite a profession of faith to which no one could sincerely adhere. Great stress was laid upon the "damnatory clauses," which they interpreted in an extreme sense which no theologian would have admitted. They based their opposition on the fact that the former rigour of theologians was no longer necessary, that dogma should no longer be considered as an essential part of religious belief, that as far as salvation was concerned, it did not much signify what articles of belief were entertained, and that accordingly it was an abuse to condemn anybody on that ground. Confronting the Broad Churchmen, Pusey and his High Church friends stood forth as defenders of the integrity of the Creed. They denounced in their opponents "the heresy of the day," according to which it was a matter of indifference "to believe one thing or the other." If one of the Creeds were given up, they said, the others would soon be abandoned likewise; the tiger would have been given his first drop of blood. Why should those who had faith always be sacrificed to those who had none? In striving to satisfy the latter, were they not risking the loss of the former, and driving them wholesale towards Rome? Pusey refused to take a serious view of the offence caused by the "damnatory clauses"; he saw nothing more in these clauses than what our Lord had repeatedly said in the Gospels against those who refused

o believe in His teaching. He would have agreed to an xplanatory note in which it would be indicated that the Creed did not condemn those who were prevented from elieving by involuntary ignorance or invincible prejudice. The defenders of the Creed aimed particularly at Stanley, ince at the moment he was causing great scandal in the eligious world for what was known among the orthodox s the sacrilegious communion at Westminster, that to hich he had admitted a Unitarian minister. Pusey alled him a fanatical enemy of all dogma, and in open Convocation another of his opponents accused him of reason towards the Church, and told him that if he had ehaved in the same way in the service of an earthly King, he certainly would have been tried by court-martial nd shot. Tait was condemned with no less severity. He was publicly taxed with infidelity, and petitions were igned by the clergy protesting against his attitude. Dean Burgon, one of the most respected members of the High Church party, declared in the *Guardian* that he was onstrained to reckon the Archbishop among the Church's oes.

Pusey had for a time believed that in this matter, as in hat of *Essays and Reviews*, and the promotion to the Episcopate of Dr. Temple, he had the Low Churchmen s his allies. Had not Lord Shaftesbury declared that e regarded the Athanasian Creed as a document almost Divine, and that he believed every word of it from the rst to the last syllable? But he was so prejudiced gainst the Ritualists that he could not consent to be in ne same camp as they, and finally ended by getting seven nousand of his partisans to sign a memorial addressed to ne two Archbishops, requesting that the recitation of

the Creed should no longer be obligatory in the public services.

For three years this controversy was prolonged with ever-increasing passion and confusion. Meetings, petitions, articles in newspapers, pamphlets, voluminous treatises, succeeded and contradicted one another. On several occasions the question was debated in both Chambers of Convocation. An attempt was even made to raise it in Parliament. The Bishops, who seemed called upon to make a decisive statement, were deafened by the noise of controversy and divided among themselves, and, being often embarrassed as to their own views, they multiplied their deliberations, and discussed the different solutions proposed without coming to any conclusion. These proposals included: The radical suppression of the Athanasian Creed in the public services, its recitation made optional or only annual, the omission of the damnatory clauses, the revision of the translation, or its continuance with an explanatory rubric. Under the pressure of outside opinion, even the Bishops most favourable to the High Church party were shaken. One of them, Moberly, capitulated, and even Wilberforce hesitated.

In face of this danger, two of the most zealous defenders of the Creed resolved on an extreme course. Pusey and Liddon declared that if the Creed were suppressed or altered, they would give up their positions and retire from the ministry of the Church of England. Pusey did not hide the gravity of this declaration. "I stake my all," he wrote, "on the Athanasian Creed." He did not believe he could do otherwise. "I have fought the battle of the Faith for more than half my life.

I have tried to rally people to the Church when other hearts failed. But if the Athanasian Creed is touched, I see nothing to be done but to give up my canonry, and abandon my fight for the Church of England. It would not be the same Church for which I have fought hitherto." Some, among whom was the Primate, believed it likely that Pusey would go back to lay communion. He protested in a letter to the *Times* against such a hypothesis. "The question would be," he said, "not as to the exercise of our Orders, but as to the character of the Church of England." And he added, not only in this public letter, but also in another addressed at the same time to Wilberforce:

"I have looked on only to the first step—viz., that as my defence of the Church of England, that she is a teacher of truth through her formularies, would be cut away, I must abandon my defence of her, and with it my position in her. What my next step would be, I do not yet know."

Yet by such language as that "acute politicians were utterly mistaken in their calculations on a matter of very inferior importance which gave birth to the Free Kirk," one could understand that he had some thought in mind of founding an independent Church.[1] Had he for a moment any thought of finding a refuge among the Old Catholics? At all events, he believed that a great effect would be produced in the religious world by the secession of a man like Liddon, in his full strength, and himself, as a veteran, who had stood so many storms. It would be, he said, a repetition of the collapse of faith upon the resignation of Newman. It would be the more so be-

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 233-248.

cause he and his friends had been prominent in defending the faith. He foresaw that many who were coming to the faith would be sent adrift, some to unbelief, some to Rome. Accordingly, in a letter to the *Times*, he did not hesitate to indicate, in this crisis of the Church of England, the risk of a rent in her, or from her, far deeper than any since 1688. Whether, he said, the Establishment would survive the shock, the event only could show.[1]

The menace of Pusey and Liddon had a considerable effect, especially upon the Episcopate. It strengthened the wavering defenders of the Creed and intimidated its opponents. Tait, greatly irritated at seeing his designs thus checked, reproved the unreasonable conduct of "certain eminent persons" who declared that they would break the Church in two if any other than their own particular way of settling a grave difficulty were adopted; but nevertheless he realized the necessity of beating a retreat, and, at the risk of being reproached for cowardice by Stanley, he ended by adopting the expedient of an explanatory note originally proposed by Pusey. Pusey closely followed this matter, anxious that nothing should be let pass which might weaken the dogmatic import of the Creed. He had recourse to Newman's advice, and through him ascertained the interpretation admitted by the Roman Church. Newman was interested in the earnest efforts of his old friend to defend that portion of truth which Anglicanism still retained, and declared that a mere sense of tenderness to so great a benefactor of the Church of England should make a man like Tait suspend his hand.[2] At last, in May, 1873, the Bishops

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 240, 241.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 256, 258.

adopted the following note under the form of a Synodical Declaration:

"For the removal of doubts and to prevent disquietude in the use of the Creed, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, this Synod doth solemnly declare:

"(1) That the Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, doth not make any addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against errors which from time to time have arisen in the Church of Christ.

"(2) That as Holy Scripture in divers places doth promise life to them that believe, and declare the condemnation of them that believe not, so doth the Church in this confession declare the necessity for all who would be in a state of salvation of holding fast the Catholic faith, and the great peril of rejecting the same. Wherefore the warnings in this confession of faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture, for we must receive God's threatenings, even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ. Moreover, the Church doth not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all."[1]

This was a great success for Pusey and Liddon, who had saved the endangered Creed by the sole threat of their departure. It afforded a clear indication of their influence in contrast to the days following Newman's secession when Pusey was regarded with suspicion. The decision could not, however, be considered definite or final. The opponents of the Creed were on several occasions to renew the charge and find support from important members of the Episcopate. Up to the present, however, their attempts have proved fruitless.

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 160, 161.

V

The Ritualists left to Pusey and the old Tractarians the responsibility and honour of resisting the Broad Churchmen, in defending the Athanasian Creed. It was not that their zeal had slackened or that they experienced any temptation to fall into the background. Quite the contrary. In May, 1873, at the very moment when the Synodical Declaration put an end, at least provisionally, to the debate in regard to the Creed, they raised, with a boldness that amounted to temerity, the most invidious of all questions, that of the confessional.

At the beginning the Tractarians had quietly and little by little begun to hear the confessions of a few of the more pious members of their flock. But even this reserve had not screened them from annoying outbursts. This was shown in 1852 at Plymouth where Protestant agitators had endeavoured to provoke a scandal regarding Miss Sellon's sisterhood and the manner in which confession was practised there under Pusey's direction. The Ritualists continued to spread[1] the custom of confession without showing the same discretion. It soon appeared that the restoration of the Sacrament of Penance and of Eucharistic worship were chiefly instrumental in their work of religious renovation, and that not only in dealing with rare and delicate consciences, but also with the grossly sinful masses in London. In their new churches they showed themselves no less zealous for the confessional than the altar. According to the statutes of

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 187-200.

the Society of the Holy Cross, founded in 1855, the ecclesiastics who were members pledged themselves not only personally to frequent the Sacrament of Penance, but to "devote themselves diligently to the Science of the care of souls," and to bring home to the young and aged the value of the Sacrament.[1]

As these ideas gained ground, the old Protestant prejudice, which saw in the confessional the mysterious instrument of all kinds of infamy, or an attack upon the independence dear to every Englishman and an intrusion of sacerdotalism into the relations between the soul and God, was renewed. So strong was this prejudice that a clergyman denounced the practice from his pulpit as a capital offence, for which transportation was not a sufficient punishment, but which deserved death itself. That was his sober conviction, he said.[2] In 1858 the Rev. A. Poole, a curate of the Church of St. Barnabas (where in former years the ritualistic practices of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett and the Rev. R. Liddell had given rise to legal proceedings), had been denounced for the indiscreet and unbecoming manner in which he questioned his penitents in confession. The accusation was demonstrated to be false, but Poole, convicted of attempting to inculcate in the faithful the habit of confession, had been blamed for this by his Bishop, Tait. The latter had seized the opportunity for solemnly denouncing in his Charge this practice as contrary to the traditions of the Anglican Church, and he deprived the curate of his licence. This decision had received the Primate's approval on an appeal being made to him. But it aroused

[1] *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 54-58.
[2] *William Ward and the Catholic Revival*, by W. Ward, p. 3.

serious protest from Liddell and other Ritualistic clergymen, and also from the parishioners of St. Barnabas, who claimed for all Christian people the right of obliging the clergy to hear confessions.[1] After these incidents the matter had rested for several years; not that the progress of confession was checked, but other questions occupied the public mind. Suddenly, in May, 1873, without any warning, 483 ritualistic clergymen addressed a petition to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, declaring that in view of the widespread and increasing use of sacramental confession, they invited Convocation to consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors, in accordance with the provisions "of the Canon Law." What motive urged these petitioners? Did they wish to answer their opponents by a sort of bravado? Or was it a real anxiety to remedy the inconvenience caused by untrained confessors? Whatever was their motive they produced an effect that certainly went beyond anything they had intended. Protestants were indignant at seeing confession presented as an accepted practice, the details in the administration of which alone remained for discussion.[2] It seemed to them that they had not merely to oppose an error but to chastise insolence. Many eminent Ritualists had not signed the petition of the 483, and though they recognized the boldness of the step, they regarded it as neither tactful nor prudent. One of their newspapers described it in the words uttered

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. i., pp. 222-228; *History of the Romeward Movement*, pp. 374-381.

[2] In regard to the whole agitation, see *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 163-170; *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 261-270; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., pp. 418-420; *Life of Shaftesbury*, pp. 678, 679.

concerning the Charge of Balaclava in the Crimean War: "It is magnificent, but it is not war."

The petitioners had nothing to hope from the Bishops, who had already spoken upon the subject, making no secret of their hostility. Even Wilberforce, who was the most favourable to High Church notions, had often rebuked those who heard confessions for imitating more or less Roman practices.[1] Accordingly the Upper Chamber of Convocation, when presented with the Report, showed its hostility, and Tait, the Primate, was able, without any opposition, to declare that he was glad to know that every member there present altogether repudiated the practice of habitual confession, and that they all stated with the utmost distinctness that they considered the sacramental view of confession a most serious error. Nevertheless, the Bishops did not believe themselves in a position to reply to the petition immediately, and limited themselves for the moment to appointing a Committee to prepare a report which would be submitted to them at their next meeting in July. Desirous as they were, as Tait said, to put down sacramental confession, and convinced as they were that they were in agreement with Anglican practice and with formularies, they could not ignore that the service for the Visitation of the Sick in the Prayer-Book expressly provided for the confession, followed by absolution:[2] hence arose a

[1] Sometimes, however, in private conversations, Wilberforce appeared to encourage his young clergymen to practice confession, and he allowed it to be practised in his Theological College at Cuddesdon. Some have not found it possible to explain this double language in a manner creditable to the prelate. *L'Âme Anglicane*, by Chapman, pp. 122-125, 129-135.

[2] Pusey had directed attention to this in 1846 in his famous sermon on "The Power of the Keys and the Entire Absolution of the Penitent."

difficulty in framing a reply which doubtless appeared to them to demand some weeks' consideration. In the meantime the Protestants strove to rouse public opinion. The Press was indignant. Contradictory petitions were presented to the two Archbishops, who declared themselves in agreement with the opponents of the "System of the Confessional" and declared their resolution to do all in their power to discourage its introduction into the Church of England. Anti-Confessional Meetings, at which the speakers rivalled one another in vulgar violence, were held everywhere; the speakers not limiting themselves to protesting against the "treacherous priests" who dared by their petition "to insult the word of God," but even attacking the Bishops who, in their opinion, had been too gentle and too lethargic. Lord Shaftesbury, at a huge meeting held in Exeter Hall, reproached them for having examined the petition signed by the 483, instead of despising the "revolting" document and exclaiming, "Away with this foul rag—this pollution of the Scarlet Woman!" This dissatisfaction with the Bishops found an echo in the House of Lords, where the Archbishop of Canterbury was compelled, in self-defence, to explain that the question was not as simple as some of those who criticized the Episcopate were pleased to believe. Although somewhat confounded by the violence of the attack, the defenders of the confessional were not silent. They signed addresses and held meetings for the purpose of vindicating for the priests the power of absolution, and they denied that the Bishops, who personally did not practise confession, were at all competent to appreciate its benefits. During this time the Committee chosen by the Upper Chamber of Convoca-

tion was engaged in preparing the expected report. Several Bishops collaborated in the work, among others Tait and Wilberforce, who on this occasion were in agreement. The result was submitted to the assembled Bishops on July 23, 1873, and met with unanimous approval. The manifest design of the report was to curtail as far as possible so much as the Prayer-Book retained in regard to confession. It began by pointing out that the Twenty-fifth Article affirmed that Penance was not to be counted as a Sacrament of the Gospel, and that the Church of England, as judged by formularies, knew no such words as sacramental confession. It was indicated that in the eyes of the Church the normal means for the sinner to obtain forgiveness of sins was through the Blood of Jesus Christ, and that by bewailing and confessing his sins before Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment, he would obtain peace. Only in exceptional cases, when people could not quiet their own consciences, they might open themselves to the minister and receive spiritual counsel and advice, with the benefit of absolution. It was also remarked that with such cases the Prayer-Book provided no form of absolution. Being obliged to admit that, according to the Prayer-Book, the sick person, if he felt troubled, could make a special confession of his sins, the report declared that absolution ought to be given only if the sick person desired it. It added that this special provision did not authorize the ministers of the Church to require, from any who might resort to them to open their grief, a particular or detailed enumeration of all their sins, or a private confession previous to the receiving of the Holy Communion, nor to enjoin or even encourage any practice of habitual

confession. This declaration of the Bishops was naturally very much criticized on the Ritualistic side. Even laymen joined their protestations to those of the clergy. Pusey was not free from anxiety at this crisis. It was a tremendous storm, he wrote. Would the vessel bear it, which so many wished to break to pieces?[1] In this case also, as on several other occasions, he considered the conduct of those whom he styled "ultra-Ritualists" as excessive and compromising, and at the same time he felt that their cause was mixed up with principles which were dear to him. It was repugnant to him either to be confused with them, or to appear to abandon the truths which they stood for. At the beginning of the agitation, he and his friends had considered the advisability of drawing up a declaration in which they might state their opinions upon the matter at issue, but no agreement had been come to as to the proper time for taking this step. After the publication of the Episcopal Report in July, 1873, the declaration could, however, be no further delayed. Drafting it was laborious, and four months passed in weighing the terms. In consequence of reigning prejudices, Pusey quite understood the difficulty of the task.

"We have to regain the confidence of plain English people," he wrote, "and so, I think, we ought to support our proposition out of English authorities—the Prayer-Book, or (secondarily) the Homilies, and also from common sense."

The declaration was published on December 6, 1873, signed only by twenty-nine names, but they were all names of note and mostly belonged to members of the

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 265.

old Tractarian School. "Mackonochie is the only Ritualist," wrote Pusey. "It is, in fact, a rallying of the old school."[1]

In this lengthy document Pusey and his co-signatories declared that they believed and professed "that our Lord Jesus Christ had instituted in His Church a special means for the remission of sin after Baptism and for the relief of consciences, which special means the Church of England retains and administers as part of her Catholic heritage." They endeavoured to establish from the formularies of the Church and the words of Ordination that the power of absolution had been conferred on her priests. From passages in the Prayer-Book relative to the confession of the sick, they concluded that it was in the mind of the Church not to defer to the death-bed what was admitted to be good for souls. They affirmed that the ministers possessed the right and duty of offering to troubled consciences the help of confession, and that "the use of confession may be, at least in some cases, of not unfrequent occurrence." They considered "that the Church left to the consciences of individuals, according to their sense of their needs, to decide whether they would confess or not." They added that the Church of England had "nowhere limited the occasions upon which her priests should exercise the office which she committed to them at Ordination." Lastly, while they admitted that "the formularies of the Church of England do not authorize any priest to teach that private confession is a condition indispensable to the forgiveness of sin after Baptism, and that the Church of England does not justify any parish priest requiring private confession as a condition of receiving Holy Communion,"

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 266.

they also held that those who, in the circumstances stated, claim the privilege of private confession are entitled to it, and that the clergy are directed in certain circumstances to "move" persons to such confession.

Notwithstanding the prudence with which the document was drawn up, it nevertheless showed a spirit in opposition to the episcopal declaration, which it formally contradicted on important points. What could the Bishops do to counteract the effect of this? They had neither the power nor the inclination to excommunicate the most prominent members of their Church. It was only left to them to accept this affirmation of the right of confession drawn up in spite of them. Accordingly the practice continued to be used in the Ritualist churches exactly as if the Bishops had not spoken.

The demonstration of this fact, added to several other symptoms proving the progress of the new ceremonial,[1] did not tend to calm Protestant passion, which was raised to white heat by the late controversies. There were daily louder cries of "Out of the Church with the Ritualists! Let the disguised Papists go to Rome! Free us from the traitors!" But how was it to be done? The Bishops and the Courts of Justice had once more shown their impotence. It seemed that nothing remained but to ask Parliament to intervene and forge new weapons against those who were to be brought low.

[1] A first attempt to collect the statistics of the movements in the *Tourist's Church Guide* for 1874 reckoned the Ritualist churches at more than 1,250. This progress was also authenticated by other publications of the same period (*Church Times*, February 6, 1874).

CHAPTER XII

CONTINUATION AND INCREASED SEVERITY OF THE PERSECUTION

I. The opponents of Ritualism seek new weapons from Parliament —The moment is judged favourable at the end of 1873— Tait's project—Excitement caused in the religious world—The measure is passed with some modifications, which make it still worse, in the House of Lords—Discussion in the House of Commons—Gladstone and Disraeli—Passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act—Public opinion welcomes it as a signal for persecution. II. Fresh prosecutions—The "Six Points" on which the Ritualists declare it impossible to give way—The idea of the Church's independence, and even eventually of disestablishment, gains ground. III. First application of the P.W.R.A.—The Ridsdale case and the Eastward Position —Other prosecutions—The Rev. A. Tooth is condemned to prison—This is too much for public opinion. IV. The question of Confession is again raised by a discussion in the House of Lords on a manual called *The Priest in Absolution*—Great public excitement—Tait raises the matter in Convocation—The Ritualists are somewhat dumbfounded by the violence of the attacks—Some, however, protest—Pusey publishes another manual for confessors. V. The Ritualists are accused of leading people to Rome—Numerous conversions take place from their ranks—How they defend themselves against this accusation— What they do to prevent conversions—Some of them, whilst remaining faithful to Anglicanism, show respect and sympathy for the Roman Church—Lord Halifax—Others are vehemently anti-Roman. VI. In 1878 there is a full assembly of Anglican Bishops—Tait secures two resolutions: one on Ritual and the other on Confession—Pusey publicly challenges the Primate to explain the bearing of the second resolution—Upon the whole Tait manages to accomplish nothing effectual. VII. The Church Association shows its bitter hostility to Mackonochie—

After several convictions the latter agrees to resign his benefice —His retirement and death—Other prosecutions ending in imprisonments—The Ritualists are exasperated, but not overthrown.

I

THE idea of calling the legislator to the rescue in the battle against Ritualism was no new one to the upholders of Anglican Protestanism. For several years, almost in every session, Lord Shaftesbury, more or less openly supported by the Primate, had introduced bills of this nature into the House of Lords, without ever succeeding in getting them passed.[1] Did not the great excitement of the end of 1873 offer more chance of success? So Archbishop Tait believed, and he did not hesitate to come into the open with a proposal of his own. Another event tended to encourage him. The death of Wilberforce, caused by a fall from his horse on July 19, 1873, had rid him of his most powerful antagonist in the ranks of the Episcopate. In spite of weakness of character and passionate anti-Roman prejudices,[2] the former Bishop of Oxford, who in 1870 had become Bishop of Winchester, had, on more occasions than one, advocated, in opposition to Tait, ideas originating from the Oxford Movement. His theory of the rights of the Church, and of the mission of a Bishop, were of a different character from those of his predecessors, and in direct contradiction to the Erastian views of the Primate. He certainly would never have committed himself to

[1] *Life of Shaftesbury*, p. 681; *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 110-114, 188, 189.

[2] Four days before his death, Wilberforce protested in the House of Lords that he hated and abhorred the attempt being made to Romanize the Church of England (*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iii., p. 422).

demand the intervention of Parliament in religious affairs. After his death none of the Bishops were likely to oppose Tait, and when the latter, in the beginning of January, 1874, submitted to his colleagues of the Bench the project which he had drawn up with the help of the Archbishop of York, and which he intended to place before the House of Lords in the name of the Bishops, he met with hardly any opposition.[1]

This project applied only to proceedings against "ritual irregularities"; not to the determination of what constituted them, but to rendering the procedure simpler, more effectual, and less expensive. According to its proposals, proceedings could be undertaken by a churchwarden or by three aggrieved parishioners. The Bishop was invested with the right of veto to stop any abusive proceedings. This procedure, formerly so complicated, was now limited to two degrees of jurisdiction; it created a new tribunal, the Diocesan Council, presided over by the Bishop, but left the final decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Tait, indeed, was not one of those who objected to see a Civil Court exercising supreme jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs.[2]

The turn of political events furthered Tait's scheme. After a disastrous election, Gladstone, who had been Prime Minister since 1868, and who would hardly have associated himself with a measure hostile to any religious party, especially to the Ritualists, was obliged to resign on February 17, 1874. He was succeeded by Disraeli,

[1] On these facts and those which followed up to the passing of the Bill, see *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 186-235; *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 272-282; *Memorials, Personal and Political*, by Roundell; *Earl of Selborne*, vol. i., pp. 337-354; *Life of Shaftesbury*, pp. 682-684.

[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 117-122, 267-269.

whose ecclesiastical politics easily lent themselves to Parliamentary tactics.[1] Tait saw in this change a reason for pushing things rapidly forward, and at once entered into communication with the new Prime Minister, endeavouring to persuade him that any action taken against the Ritualists would be popular.

In the beginning of March, 1874, the *Times*, whether with intent or otherwise, most indiscreetly published the scheme drawn up by the Bishops. Feeling at once became very strong in the religious world. Protests were raised not only by the ultra-Ritualists, who were directly aimed at, but also by the old Tractarians. Pusey gave the signal in three letters published on March 19, 24, and 30, in which he denounced with deep sorrow the failure of the Bishops in their mission since the origin of the Oxford Movement. He expressed a hope that they would at last return to "the spirit of their office," resume "paternal relations with the clergy," and deserve their beautiful title of "Fathers in God."

This attitude of Pusey was all the more remarkable, as he was then more than ever irritated by what he termed the "extravagances" of the ultra-Ritualists[2] and their refusal to enter into any compromise upon the question of ceremonial. But now that they were unjustly attacked, he willingly forgot his own grievances and came to the rescue. Opposed as the Primate was by the High Churchmen, he was far from fully satisfying the Low Church

[1] Disraeli had appointed Tait to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1867.

[2] Pusey wrote on July 28, 1873, to Dr. Bright: "I have a thorough mistrust of the ultra-Ritualist body. . . . I do fear that the Ritualists and the old Tractarians differ both in principle and in object" (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 271).

party. Many of the latter, including Lord Shaftesbury, blamed him for his weakness, for conceding too much to the Bishops, and for limiting himself to rules of procedure, without any express prohibition of ritualistic practices, particularly that of confession.

Tait, ignoring this double criticism, hastened to place his scheme before the House of Lords, and on April 20, 1874, obtained the first reading of his Bill, without waiting until Convocation, which was to meet a few days later, should make known the feelings of the clergy. The distrust and the almost contemptuous lack of regard shown by this precipitation was not likely to win the ecclesiastical world. Accordingly, when Convocation met on April 28, the Lower House, which was the organ of the inferior clergy, decided, after a long and heated discussion, that "it was impossible to recommend the Bill." Tait only saw in this a further reason for seeking from politicians the aid refused by the clergy. In conference with one or another important personage, he continually showed great energy and activity in conducting his campaign, and the Episcopate still followed him with docility. Notwithstanding the severe criticisms of several peers, May 11 saw the Bill reappear in the House of Lords, when it passed the ordeal of a second reading by the large majority of 137 votes to 28: 19 Bishops voted with the majority, 1 against, and 2 were absent.

Outside, the agitation was far from abating. "The excitement about the Bill has been immense," Tait wrote in his diary. "O Lord, direct all for the best interests of Thy Church." The more moderate members of the High Church party pronounced themselves against the project. Meetings of protestation multiplied. One held at St.

James's Hall on June 16 created more stir than the others on account of the numbers present, the importance of the speakers, and the vehemence of the speeches, in which the Bishops were not spared. Ritualists and Tractarians were united in the same efforts. When Pusey rose to speak, the whole audience stood up and cheered him for some time. But even then, when, subject to the threats of the common enemy, he openly acknowledged his fellowship with the Ritualists, he tried to let slip a few hints for their benefit, warning them against arbitrary innovation and individual whims, and recommending union. "There has been too much guerilla warfare of late," he said, "everyone doing what was right in his own eyes." He flattered himself that his advice had been listened to. "The tone of the St. James's meeting," he wrote a few days afterwards, "was delightful. If we could but remain as one, as we were that evening."[1] In the last days of June, 1874, the details of the Bill were brought forward in the House of Lords and discussed for five days. Various amendments were proposed, some to lessen, and others to increase, the rigour of the Bill. The first, among which were those proposed by Lord Selborne,[2] were rejected. Other amendments shared a better fate, especially that of Lord Shaftesbury, which was supported by one of the principal Ministers, and to which Tait assented through fear of losing support which he so much needed. This amendment, an expression of anti-clerical

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 276, 277.

[2] Roundell Palmer, made Lord Selborne in 1872, a distinguished lawyer and a man of lofty mind, was a convinced High Churchman, a friend of Pusey and of Gladstone. Under the influence of his legal ideas, he had accepted the principle of the Bill, but had wished to improve it (*Memorials, Personal and Political*, vol. i., pp. 336-350).

mistrust, substituted for the Diocesan Courts, which were to sit under the presidency and authority of a Bishop, a single lay judge for the whole of England. He might be elected by the two Archbishops, but was entirely free from ecclesiastical influence. This was quite contrary to the original project, which aimed at making the Bishops the judges of the proceedings. Governed by the same spirit, Lord Shaftesbury tried to suppress the suspensory veto of the Bishop; but upon this point at least Tait was able to resist him.

In spite of the change his original project had undergone, the Primate was none the less anxious to bring it to a successful issue. At his suggestion, the House of Commons brought it forward on July 12. Gladstone purposely came from the country, and delivered an eloquent and courageous speech against it, in which he recalled the "scandalous" state of Anglican worship at the beginning of the century, and "the marvellous transformation" created by the Movement, against which it was now desired to use vigorous measures contrary to the spirit of the Church of England. Such was the excitement of Protestant prejudice that most of his political friends refused to follow him. Some of them spared neither their criticisms nor sarcasms in the debate which followed. As for Lord Shaftesbury, he solemnly declared that Gladstone had delivered a speech altogether ultramontane and revolutionary.[1] Disraeli, who had hitherto refrained from openly taking either side, but with other members of the Government had adopted the attitude of

[1] A little while afterwards Gladstone began a violent campaign against Catholicism by publishing his resounding pamphlets against what he called "Vaticanism."

a spectator, now saw the opportunity of a Parliamentary success against his predecessor, and threw himself into the struggle. Tearing aside the veil in which the prudent defenders of the Bill had at first enveloped it, he publicly declared that the object of the project was to overthrow and strangle Ritualism. According to him the Anglican Church might include the most contrary opinions, except that of Ritualism, because it led to Rome. And he added that he respected the convictions of Catholics, but could not tolerate a Protestant minister pretending to be a Catholic priest. Other speakers strove to bring forward the subordination of the Church to the State, of which this project was a proof. In reply to those who complained that Convocation had not been previously consulted, the answer was given that the clergy ought to be excluded from these debates, because when invited to act they only proved their inability to do so; and, moreover, that the Thirty-Nine Articles had been finally drawn up without the help of Convocation. The Bishops themselves were fully rewarded for their zeal in presenting and upholding the Bill by the speech of Sir William Harcourt, who strongly affirmed the authority of the State over the Church, and of the Civil Courts in the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes.

Under the impression made by this address, the House adopted the project without any hesitation. On August 7, 1874, after many communications between the two Houses, the new law was definitely passed under the too wide and inexact title "The Public Worship Regulation Act."

Public opinion at once welcomed the new law, not so much for its regulations, which were still very limited,

but because of the feeling that had given it birth, and which Disraeli had proclaimed loudly enough for the whole world to hear. It was like a declaration of war, a signal for persecution, passionately welcomed by some, and raising indignant remonstrances from others. The trouble and excitement gave rise to the gravest conjectures on the part of cool observers. Church wrote to his brother from London:

"The ignorance of some, the pride of others, the suspicious injustice of even wise and good men, have brought things to a pass, when those who for fifty years have been steadily disbelieving in a break-up have come to look at it face to face."

But in spite of all, Tait, the principal author of the measure, heartily congratulated himself on the passing of what he persistently called "*his* Bill," and his satisfaction was all the keener because of the trouble it had caused him, and the many vicissitudes it had undergone. As soon as the third reading was carried, he wrote to the Queen from the House of Lords: "Thank God, the Bill has passed." He added in his diary: "I received congratulations on all sides. So ends a work which has given no rest for six months." And in another passage he says: "Truly the events of the last week give cause for thankfulness to Almighty God. I trust the excitement will now die, and the Church return from agitation to its legitimate work of winning souls. . . . May God grant His blessing on its work."[1] Events soon proved what a mortifying disappointment was in store for the Primate and his followers.

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 234, 235.

II

The *Public Worship Regulation Act*, or, as it was styled, the P.W.R.A., only came into force on July 1, 1875. Tait had flattered himself that this year of waiting would bring calmness and a spirit of submission, but, on the contrary, controversies continued more vehement and more bitter than ever. The Church Association, for its part, had so little intention of disarming, that without awaiting the application of the new law, it engaged in fresh proceedings on the strength of the old. Mackonochie was once again prosecuted for illegal ritual, and in spite of the protests of his parishioners, who declared themselves entirely in accord with him, he was condemned to a suspension of six months and to the costs of the trial. The Primate, urged by the parishioners to mitigate this suspension, refused,[1] and the Bishop of London having prohibited the curate, during Machonochie's suspension, from celebrating the Eucharist with the rites to which the parishioners were accustomed, the latter, in a body of 1,500 or 2,000, attended the ritualistic church of St. Vedast, where those rites were observed.

Such events were not of a nature to foster the calm that Tait desired. The Ritualists loudly proclaimed their intention of resisting. A declaration drawn up in this spirit was publicly read on June 27, 1875, in several London churches. Upon the suggestion of a clergyman of note, the Rev. T. T. Carter, the English Church Union formulated, on June 15, as the minimum of what they could not concede: 1st, The eastward position;

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 160-172; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 168-170, 175, 176.

2nd, Eucharistic vestments; 3rd, candles on the altar; 4th, water mixed with the wine in the chalice; 5th, unleavened bread; 6th, incense.[1] These were the famous "six points," upon which so many works were to be published. In London, towards the end of 1873, there might be reckoned 74 churches where the eastward position was adopted; and in 1875 there were 119.[2]

What was most striking in the attitude then taken by the Ritualists was their growing feeling of the necessity for the independence of the Church. The lengthening of the persecution had enlightened their ideas on this subject, which were originally rather vague. They no longer admitted that "the Church was only an ecclesiastical department of an unbelieving State."[3] They declared that one of the great errors of the English reformers was "the acceptance of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy."[4] It seemed to them intolerable that religious questions should be judged by Civil Courts, and legislatively determined by Parliament. "Parliament," Liddon said at a large meeting, "with its unbelievers of all kinds, is absolutely incapable of discussing any ecclesiastical questions."[5] They revolted against affirmations which in former times would have been accepted as a matter of course. When Lord John Russell recalled, in a letter in the *Times*, the oath which was taken on bended knee by the Anglican Bishops before the Queen, in which they proclaim that she is the Supreme Head in the realm of all things spiritual and temporal, acknowledging that

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 173.
[2] These numbers are taken from a *Guide to the London Churches.*
[3] *Church Review*, August 15, 1874.
[4] *Ibid.*, October 3, 10, and 17, 1874.
[5] Meeting at St. James's Hall, June 16, 1874.

they hold from her the spiritual jurisdiction of their bishoprics as well as their temporal power, many people were shocked and troubled as at a humiliating revelation of a weakness in their Church. An association was founded "for the liberation of religion from State patronage and control," and, judging from the account of its proceedings in May, 1875, it had by then held 700 meetings and distributed a million tracts.

The need of spiritual independence was so great with some as to make them desire the disestablishment of the Church, or, at least, resign themselves to it. This tendency, which has already been referred to, increased with time. Gladstone, who, since his retirement, had greatly occupied himself with religious matters, was untiring in the fight against "Vaticanism"; he threw himself also into the ritualistic controversy, and published in the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1875, an article entitled: "Is the Church of England Worth Maintaining?" Yes, he replied, but on condition that the very diverse opinions within this Church mutually support each other; and he declared that a continuation of internal conflicts would imperil her existence. In his private letters he still more openly affirmed that the Establishment was not strong enough to endure a serious secession and a prolonged Parliamentary agitation,[1] and he disturbed some of his friends by saying that he foresaw the possibility of "disestablishment," and by declaring that the Conservative Government had advanced it ten years by the "Public Worship Act."[2] The dissenters, age-long enemies of the

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, by Morley, vol. ii., pp. 501, 502.

[2] *Memorials, Personal and Political*, by Lord Selborne, vol. i., pp. 355-363.

Established Church, rejoiced that even among its own ranks its ruin was foreseen, and they deemed it an opportune moment to push forward with all their strength.

III

People were far from being appeased when in July, 1875, the P.W.R.A. was put into force, and the new judge of first instance, Lord Penzance, who had been chosen by the two Archbishops, set up his tribunal in the palace of Lambeth. He had formerly been a judge of the Divorce Court, which was hardly a qualification for exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He was not long left idle. The first person accused was the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale, a man of great zeal, attached to the church of St. Peter at Folkestone. He had already been in difficulties with Tait, concerning the stations of the Cross and other devotions. This time he was accused of a dozen ritual irregularities. The three "aggrieved parishioners," whose intervention was required to put the law in force, were notoriously dummies, strangers to all religious practices, hired by the Church Association to play their part, and ready to renounce it if offered higher payment from other quarters.[1] The judge nevertheless pronounced in their favour on all points in February, 1876.

Ridsdale appealed to the Privy Council upon four points, two of which, the eastward position and the Eucharistic vestments, appeared very important to the Ritualists. Various circumstances led to the hope that the Supreme Court, in its new composition, would overthrow the decision given in the Purchas affair. The

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, by Bayfield Roberts, p. 192.

pleadings began in January, 1877, and lasted a considerable time. The Ritualists, on the alert for anything that might accrue to them through a disagreement of the judges, were anxious and agitated. Pusey once more forgot his grievances against them,[1] and in face of the attack made against that part of ceremonial that was dearest to him, including as it did the expression of the Eucharistic doctrine, strove to influence the judges, and to avert a condemnation which, as he said, would be a "national disaster."[2] On May 12, 1877, in a lengthy judgment, the reading of which lasted for two hours and a half, the Court decided that the eastward position was not illegal on condition that the manual acts of the celebrant were visible to the congregation, but it decided against the appeal on every other point. This decision did not pacify the combatants. A petition of protest was drawn up by the Ritualists, and signed by Pusey.[3] The Rev. C. J. Ridsdale began by announcing his intention of not submitting. A Court void of spiritual authority could not, he said, prevent anyone from observing the rubrics of the Prayer-Book concerning the ornaments; such a dispensation could only be given by his ecclesiastical superiors. Tait, wishing to bring the affair to a conclusion, immediately hastened to inform Ridsdale that he granted him the dispensation of which his conscience seemed to be in need, and the latter gladly consented to

[1] Pusey had a little previously been so deeply offended by the conduct of the Ritualists that he had thought of resigning his position as Vice-President of the English Church Union (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 278-288).

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 288; *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 291; *Memorials, Personal and Political*, by Lord Selborne, vol. i., pp. 383-386.

[3] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 289, 290.

this expedient, which spared him the risks of an open resistance, without forcing him to adhere to a judgment the authority of which he contested.[1]

About the same period other lawsuits raised by the Church Association led, after various proceedings, to the suspension of the Rev. Pelham Dale, Vicar of St. Vedast,[2] in London, of the Rev. J. Edwards, Vicar of Prestbury,[3] and of the withdrawal of the licence of the Rev. A. H. Ward, curate of the Sailors' Chapel at Bristol. To the violence of the Church Association the English Church Union replied by multiplying protests against the intrusion of the Civil Courts into spiritual affairs, by sympathizing with prosecuted clergymen, and helping them to carry on their lawsuits by paying the costs.[4] The Bishops, generally favourable, or at least not hostile, to the prosecutors, found that in some cases they went too far, and interposed their veto. Such was the attitude of the Bishop of Oxford in the case of Canon Carter,[5] and of Tait himself in the case of the Rev. Charles Bodington.[6] The most High Church prelate on the Bench, Dr. Moberley, telling one of his Diocesan clergy of the denunciation to which he was subjected, could not hide his annoyance and the embarrassment that it caused him. "Would that I could deal with you as a Bishop! but I cannot. I am convinced that it is impossible for an Anglican Bishop to disobey the law, although the day may come when he will have to resign his see."[7]

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 240-245.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 185, 193, 197, 209.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 207, 208.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 188, 194, 195, 202, 203, 211.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 198; *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 254-263.
[7] *L'Âme Anglicane*, by Chapman, translated by Ragey, p. 241.

One of the most notable proceedings of the time was that against the Rev. A. Tooth, Vicar of Hatcham, a suburb of London. He had incurred the hostility of the Church Association by protesting in a public letter to the Bishop of Rochester, on the passing of the P.W.R.A., against the attacks made on the spiritual independence of the Church. Prosecuted shortly afterwards for habitual ritualistic irregularities, he declared, always siding with his Bishop, that he "did not recognize the authority of a law which had never been accepted by the Church."[1] The Bishops, he added, had renounced the right to hold Courts, and had abdicated their judicial functions. Their action was an abuse of confidence directed against the social life of the Church of England, for which the Bishops alone were responsible, and in which the inferior clergy had no part. Moreover, now that the difficulties were realized, the Bishops would never succeed in transferring canonical obedience to a new and secular authority. He announced his intention of not defending himself, and his resolution not to submit if condemned.[2] His parishioners in a body declared themselves in agreement with their vicar. The Bishop limited himself to saying that the law must be obeyed,[3] and Lord Penzance, in a judgment dated December 2, 1876, condemned the Rev. A. Tooth to a suspension of three months. The parishioners, uniting with the vicar in a protest, refused to receive the clergyman designated by the Bishop to take

[1] Letter of September 1, 1875, published in the *Church Review* and in the *Church Times*.

[2] Letters of March 11 and 22, 1876, published in the *Church Review* and in the *Church Times*.

[3] Letters of March 17, 1876, published in the *Church Review* and in the *Church Times*.

the place of the suspended minister, and the Rev. A. Tooth continued his ministry as if nothing had happened. In a meeting held on December 7, the English Church Union, amid the acclamations of a numerous assembly, passed the two following resolutions, the first being presented by Dr. Phillimore, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Lincoln:

"1. That this meeting declares that in its judgment any sentence of suspension or inhibition pronounced by any Court sitting under the P.W.R.A. is *spiritually* null and void, and that should any priest feel it to be his duty to continue to discharge his spiritual functions, notwithstanding such sentence, he is hereby assured of the sympathy of the meeting, and of such support and assistance as the circumstances of the case may allow.

"2. That this meeting of the English Church Union hereby expresses its sympathy with the Rev. Arthur Tooth, Vicar of St. James's, Hatcham, in the course which he has taken in regard to his prosecution under the P.W.R.A., and pledges itself to give him any support that may be in its power."[1]

The Church Association, much angered, assembled the population of the neighbouring districts, and in December, 1876, and January, 1877, the Church of Hatcham was besieged for several Sundays by rioters. In the meantime the rebellious clergyman was again cited before Lord Penzance, and was arrested and put in prison on January 22 for contempt of Court.[2]

This was too much for English public opinion. The Rev. A. Tooth became popular. In conversation and in newspapers he was the only topic. This was the case not only among his partisans, whose emotion and agitation were at the highest, but even outsiders who had hitherto

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 186, 187.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

been inclined to sneer at Ritualism, concluded that its opponents had carried matters too far, and thought it odious and ridiculous that recourse should be had to imprisonment in such cases. Cartoons in journals, such as *Vanity Fair*, represented the Rev. A. Tooth behind the bars of his prison, with rather friendly notices.[1] The Church Association, with the exception of a few fanatics, realized the ill-effect of carrying matters to a pass which ended in making the man it prosecuted appear with advantage as a martyr. Accordingly, at the end of a few weeks, it seized the first pretext to secure his release, and he left prison with all the honours of war on February 17, 1877.[2]

Although he was forced to make a stay in Italy because of his health, the Rev. A. Tooth was less than ever inclined to yield. Moreover, the parishioners, by their hostile attitude, discouraged all the clergy sent in succession to fill his place. In June, 1877, the Bishopric of Rochester falling vacant, Archbishop Tait was provisionally charged with the exercise of its episcopal authority. He profited by the opportunity to try to come to terms with the Rev. A. Tooth, in the same clever manner as had succeeded with the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale. But, put the question as he would, all his efforts failed, and though demanding submission, as to ecclesiastical authority, he could not lure aside the obstinate clergyman who saw behind the episcopal arguments the civil judge to whom he refused obedience. The astute Archbishop had to admit his powerlessness to overcome this resistance. Shortly afterwards the *Guardian* compared the long

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 255.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 193.

correspondence between the prelate and the vicar, which it had published, to "the play of a palace cat with a church mouse." That paper was not much concerned, however, for the little mouse, "for," it said, "Mr. Tooth's skin is evidently of such substance that the point of the archiepiscopal logic, whatever its force and value, is quite incapable of penetrating to his nerves of sensation."[1]

Nevertheless, the Rev. A. Tooth, struggling against the new judicial powers, felt his strength coming to an end. On November 21, 1877, he sent in his resignation to the Archbishop, giving as a reason his broken health, and adding "that having fulfilled his duty to the Church, by refusing to obey an alien jurisdiction, he now felt it his duty to relieve the congregation from their difficult position, and to resign the care of the parish, in the hope that it might thus be secured from further litigation."[2]

IV

The most controversial of all questions, that of confession, which had been dormant since the crisis of 1873 was suddenly awakened in 1877 by the denunciation in the House of Lords of a book entitled *The Priest in Absolution*. This was a manual intended for clergymen who desired to have a sort of vade-mecum to which they could easily refer in the accomplishment of their duties as confessors. From certain quotations the accuser concluded that habitual confession was recommended, especially for children, and that the confessor asked indecent questions with regard to sins against purity. The aristocratic assembly was greatly scandalized. Several speakers,

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 245-254.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 197.

among whom was the Primate, expressed disapprobation, and no voice dared to make itself heard on the other side.

As a matter of fact, since confession had retaken its place in a section of Anglicanism, the want of a manual which would help inexperienced confessors to know the secret ills of the soul, and to decide cases of conscience, had been much felt. Attention was naturally drawn to books of the kind in use in the Roman Church, and, with this end in view, Pusey had begun the adaptation of a manual by the Abbé Gaume. Various circumstances had delayed the completion of the work, when the Rev. J. C. Chambers, a Ritualist of distinction and Master of the Society of the Holy Cross, greatly esteemed for his apostolic zeal in poor quarters of London, undertook to complete another adaptation of the book. After his death the Society of the Holy Cross had it printed for private circulation only, and for the use of the clergy who vindicated the practice of confession. Books of this class necessarily deal with certain distasteful subjects, but there is no more reason to be shocked by them than by the treatment of certain forms of diseases in medical books. The important thing was that the book should only be used for its own purpose, and not for unwholesome curiosity. Among Catholics such a work would be published in Latin, and its circulation carefully limited. But one can imagine that certain isolated quotations, spread among an unprepared public, might furnish matter for indignation, sincere or not. It is a controversial weapon well known among the enemies of the clergy, which has been employed, not without a temporary success, in all countries, especially France.[1] The success was still easier

[1] *Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet*, vol. v., p. 498.

in England, where for three centuries the public had been accustomed to look upon confession as a detestable custom, and revolting to the English spirit. Accordingly the cry of scandal raised in the House of Lords had a loud and lengthy echo in Parliament, in the Press, in vicarages, in drawing-rooms, and among the people. Public opinion was still more excited than it had been on the same topic in 1873. Petitions called on the Bishops to take drastic steps. The *Times* said that the mass of English people had only one thing to say upon such a system: there was no institution that it would not sacrifice, no system that it would not repudiate, if it became the refuge and asylum of such practices.

Convocation, which assembled shortly afterwards in July, 1877, naturally had to deal with the question. Tait profited by the general agitation to secure a more or less willing[1] support, from the Lower House of Convocation, for a declaration passed in 1873 by the Episcopal Chamber upon the subject of confession. He also secured that a reprimand to the Society of the Holy Cross should be unanimously voted by the Bishops, and a strong condemnation of any doctrine or practice of confession, which could be thought to render such a book necessary or expedient. At the termination of his speech the Primate expressed his regret at having to denounce men whose virtues he appreciated, but he had no hesitation in describing their conduct as "a conspiracy within our own body against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of the Reformed Church."[2] This accusation of

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 311.

[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 175-178; *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, pp. 110-116.

"conspiracy," coming from so high a quarter, was used as a catch-word during the controversy. All the names of the clergymen associated with the Society of the Holy Cross and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, who in 1873 had signed the petition of the 483, were published in a pamphlet entitled *Ritualistic Conspiracy*, and measures were taken against such as could be reached by Episcopal authority.

The Ritualists were somewhat dumbfounded and intimidated by the nature of the accusation, and by the number and violence of their accusers. Moreover, it was for them a difficult question to discuss before the general public, where defence was less easy than attack. If the bolder, such as Mackonochie, publicly approved of the condemned book, others judged it more prudent to bend a little before the storm. But the outrageous accusation of the Primate caused indignation among all. Innumerable letters of grieved or angry protest were addressed to him from ecclesiastics who were accustomed to hear confession. Pusey insisted to the Archbishop on the proved advantages of systematic confession among boys, and sent up statistics from important schools upon this subject. A clergyman who had been for long engaged in parochial duties declared that, without the habitual use of the confessional for young and old, the ministry would be deprived of half its power. Others whose ministry lay in miserable slums, in contact with the grossest forms of vice, sent a detailed account of their experiences to Tait, and asked him, not without some bitterness, if, while these horrible sins went on, the only people blamed were to be those who were endeavouring to grapple with the evil.

Such testimonies, coming from men whose meritorious

and successful ministry Tait was the first to recognize, gave him food for reflection and perhaps caused him to feel some regret for the violence of his condemnations. In any case they revealed the agitation that his words had excited, and showed how he by his own act had put off the desired day of peace. Thus he noted sorrowfully in his diary: "It has raised a storm in the Church of England, of which we shall not see the end for many a long day."[1]

Pusey was not satisfied with letters of protest to the Archbishop. He deemed it necessary to inform the public that in this contest the advocates of confession would not lower their flag. With this intention, and to replace the condemned and dishonoured manual, he resumed and completed his own adaptation of Gaume's Manual, begun ten years previously, and regrettably laid aside. It was published in 1877 under the title, *Advice for those who exercise the Ministry of Reconciliation through Confession and Absolution*, with a lengthy, historical, and apologetic preface. In his adaptation he aimed at eliminating all that was exclusively Roman, while retaining the substance of the French manual, in which he rejoiced to find the very words of Saints like St. Charles Borromeo and St. Francis of Sales.[2]

V

The revelations made of the progress of confession among the Ritualists naturally provided an argument for those who accused them of encouraging their followers along the way to Rome. In truth the accusation was

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 183.
[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 303-306.

not without foundation. By calling attention to the lack of doctrinal integrity and of independence in the Anglican Church they had aroused in many a feeling of agitation and trouble which urged them to look for a Church free from these reproaches. By familiarizing them with the ideas, the practices, the devotions, the books, and even the gestures, dress, and ornaments of Catholicism, they awakened desires which could not be fully satisfied except by the Roman Communion. Many had, indeed, been led by more or less direct paths to leave the one Church for the other. Such, among others, had been the case of Tuke at the beginning of the Movement in 1867, followed by a whole convent of very devoted Sisters who had been established in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's Church.[1] Shortly afterwards another no less famous conversion was that of the man who had been president of the English Church Union since its foundation, the Hon. Colin Lindsay.[2] This conversion, which was not the first from the ranks of the Union, was again followed by many others.[3] A list has been drawn up by one unfavourable to Ritualism, of 77 clergymen, members of the English Church Union, who had gone over to the Roman Church. Some of them have described their conversions. The incidents that accompanied them were varied; the converts have taken a longer or shorter time, have had more or less difficulty in shaking off the inveterate prejudices which weighed so heavily on their wills, but it appears that, for almost all of them, Ritualism was the way that

[1] *Memories of a Sister of St. Saviour's Priory*, pp. 92, 93.

[2] *History of the Romeward Movement*, by Walsh, pp. 419, 420.

[3] *Cf. The City of Peace, by those who have entered it*, and *L'Âme Anglicane*, by Chapman.

led to Rome. A Catholic journal stated as a notorious fact that out of a dozen conversions nine resulted from Ritualism. Catholic priests were the first to acknowledge how little they had to do with these conversions, and that the Ritualists were the sole authors of them, saying that they could not wish for a better preparation to attract to the Catholic Church than the preparatory school of Ritualism.[1]

That Protestants saw in the conversions reason for attacks upon the Ritualists one can well believe. But what is more incredible is the spirit in which some Catholics joined in these controversies and maliciously laid stress upon all that might compromise the Ritualists in the eyes of their co-religionists. One such was Monsignor Capel, a person of poor judgment, who after having great favour with Manning, ended in most serious disagreements with him, and was suspended *a divinis* by the Holy Office. In the latter part of 1874, at a time when the Ritualists were most persecuted, he published letters in which he proved to an excited public that the Ritualists were indeed guilty of upholding Roman opinions and thus leading souls to Rome. Liddon, personally involved in this controversy, which was, to say the least, inopportune, expressed his surprise that, if the Ritualists were really working, involuntarily, for the Church of Rome, the most prominent champion of that Church in England, should take so much pains to draw attention to the matter.[2]

Disturbed as were the leaders of the High Church

[1] *Cf.* tract of the Church Association, entitled *Does Ritualism lead to Rome?*

[2] *Life and Letters of Liddon*, pp. 180, 181.

party by the attacks made on them in reference to conversions, they believed they had a reply to those who reproached them. They maintained that what made the conversions possible was the deformation which Protestant influences had forced Anglicanism to undergo, and that the best way to retain souls in the bosom of the Church of England was to satisfy their devotion and the need for doctrinal security which they were tempted to seek in Rome.[1] They prided themselves on the success with which they had been able to strengthen the allegiance of many vacillating souls around them. Some of the ritualistic confessors were looked upon as experts in dealing with the malady called "the Roman fever." Their method was not as a rule to make a frontal attack upon the doubts that had arisen; they preferred to employ a method of diversion, maintaining, like Keble and Pusey, that in the unfortunate divisions of the Church of Christ, it was a clear duty for each soul to remain in that particular communion in which God had placed him, without seeking to judge its merits; and they persuaded some to seek relief from doubts of conscience in the activity of the ministry or in works of active charity. We have already had occasion to note how several, of a less anxious and penetrating mind than Newman's, had succeeded in all good faith in overcoming the stumbling-blocks that had overthrown his faith in Anglicanism, or at least had persuaded themselves that they had the right to disregard such objections. In spite of the momentary "suspension" that the unfortunate events of the sixteenth century had caused

[1] This is the contention in the work of a very ardent Ritualist, Dr. Littledale (*Defence of Church Principles; Secessions to Rome*).

in the dealings of their Church with the Church of Rome, they still remained sincerely convinced that they formed part of the Universal Catholic Church.

The most ardent Ritualists were not among the least zealous in trying to hinder conversions. When, in the Parish of St. Alban, a whole convent of ritualistic nuns, after the example of their chaplain, went over to Catholicism, it was Mackonochie who undertook to retain and to console the bewildered and sorrowful companions of those who had deserted, and who brought several others up from the country to found a new convent in the same locality. These nuns, under his direction, forbidden to yield to a temptation which he pictured to them as a culpable desertion, took up and re-established the disorganized work, and succeeded in their task, notwithstanding all the difficulties and suspicions with which they were surrounded.[1] Catholic and Romanizer as Mackonochie seemed to be in his doctrines, and dissatisfied as he felt with the heads of his Church, he had never had the shadow of a doubt as to the integrity of that Church or the fidelity that was due to her. The thought of secession horrified him. This state of mind was shared by many other "advanced" Ritualists. One of their most celebrated leaders, the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, published *Lectures on the Distinctive Errors of Romanism.* These contradictory feelings, which estranged men from Catholicism whilst attracting them to its devotions, often led to extravagances which would have been impossible in a more logical country. The very clergymen who on English soil made it a matter of conscience never to

[1] *Memories of a Sister of St. Saviour's Priory*, pp. 94, 98, 100; *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 132-136.

set foot in a Roman Catholic Church, because there Catholics seemed to them to be intruders, "papal schismatics," or as it was styled, "the Italian Mission in England," deemed it quite allowable, once on the continent, to frequent the churches of these same Catholics, whom they there regarded as the legitimate inheritors of the apostolic tradition: and immediately the holidays began, one saw them hastening to cross the channel to enjoy in security of conscience those pious delights which they found only in participation in the Catholic Offices and Devotions.[1] The inconsistency of such behaviour never seems to have occurred to their minds.

Many Ritualists withheld themselves and others from the temptation to join the Roman Church without, on that account, ceasing to speak of her in a decorous manner, and even with respect and sympathy. In the foremost rank of these was the personage who, after the Hon. Colin Lindsay's secession, succeeded him as president of the English Church Union, and who to-day, after thirty-six years, still presides over that association, having contributed in no small degree to its development by his exclusive devotion to the cause of religion, as also by the charm and uprightness of his character. Belonging to a family the members of which had often played a great part in English affairs, and the nephew of one of Newman's greatest friends, his name, at the period of his election to the presidency of the Union, was Charles Lindley Wood, and in 1885 he succeeded his father in the peerage as the second

[1] *The City of Peace*, pp. 16-25.

Viscount Halifax. However vividly he may often have realized the "insufficiency" and the "false situation" of his Church, he never appears to have been tempted to abandon her. A letter addressed to his friend Dean Lake, on the occasion of reading a book which led him to compare the different conduct of Newman and Pusey, throws some light upon his state of mind.

"It is impossible to blame Dr. Newman," he wrote. "Humanly speaking, he was justified. Further, I don't doubt that Dr. Pusey's determination always to see the best of everything, and to put a good face on the most deplorable facts, must have seemed to Dr. Newman untrue, and been, besides, extremely provoking. Dr. Newman wanted a theory which should completely justify his own position, one which should make that position intellectually complete and secure; facts—the action of the Bishops—seemed irreconcilable with his theory, behind which he had hoped to be secure; and then, finding the theory break down, the claims of the Church of England seemed to break down too. I cannot blame him. I am compelled to admit that, humanly speaking, there was much to be said for the course he took, and yet, though I say this, I have also the feeling that what was not revealed to the wise and prudent was revealed to the childlike simplicity and prudence of Dr. Pusey; that events now justified Dr. Pusey's estimate of the situation and condemned Dr. Newman's."

Then, after recalling the changes that had taken place in the religious life and in the services of the Anglican Church since Newman's conversion, Lord Halifax adds:

"Certainly our existing scandals are deplorable . . . . But having said all this, I have also to say that I am thankful to be where I am. We have a great work before us. How great we shall only know hereafter, and meanwhile to despair or be discouraged seems to me the height of ingratitude and faithlessness to Almighty God, who has so wonderfully helped us and blessed us hitherto."

But faithful as he showed himself to his Church, Lord Halifax declared that he had no sympathy for "Anglican narrowness." He blamed particularly those who described the Roman Catholic Church of England as "the Italian Mission."

"I think it all untrue," he said. "I think it unjust, in view of our conduct and history, to accuse the adherents of the Roman Church of being a schism in England. *There is a schism* with much blame on both sides; but to talk as many Anglicans do on this subject is in my opinion grossly unfair, inconsistent with historical fact, and contrary to justice and common sense."

Lake replied to him:

"I quite agree with you in disliking this wretched humbug of an Italian Mission—as if the Roman Catholics were not in all respects as true, and a far greater portion of Christ's Church than ourselves. Look at their best men, their missions, etc.! Why can we not agree each to work on our distinct lines?[1]

The president of the English Church Union, in reply to criticisms addressed to him in 1886, insisted on his desire for a visible union with the Roman Church, and asked if any educated Christian would not prefer Leo XIII. to the Privy Council as judge of appeal on religious questions? Other Ritualists, on the contrary, exasperated by the conversions that took place around them, and fearing to be compromised, showed by their writings a more bitter anti-papal spirit than the most Protestant members of the Low Church party. Among these might be reckoned the Rev. Dr. Littledale. An ardent supporter of the new ceremonial, an important member of the Society

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, pp. 314-316.

of the Holy Cross, a friend and protector of the Sisterhoods, having published many writings to defend and propagate the ideas of extreme Ritualism, so firmly resolved to repudiate all Protestant tradition that he spoke of the absolute rascality of the English Reformers whom the Evangelicals honoured as saints and martyrs, he yet published in 1879, a pamphlet, under the title *Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome*, which had a considerable influence and which Catholic writers were compelled to answer.[1] Few books show more bitter and more adroit animosity in reviving the English prejudices against the Church of Rome and in estranging from that Church those who felt attracted to it. It must be observed, moreover, that if the Ritualists in certain respects seemed near Catholicism, in others they were very far away from it. Nothing more was needed than to see them in their work, reciting their Creed, conducting their worship according to the fancy or caprice of each individual, accepting no control from any religious authority, to recognize in them, pushed often to extremes, the essentially Protestant principle that each one ought in religious matters to trust exclusively to his own private judgment.

VI

The agitation caused by the controversy on confession was far from having subsided, when, in 1878, the second general assembly of Anglican Bishops was convoked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing not only the United Kingdom but the Colonies and the United States.

[1] *A Reply to Littledale's Plain Reasons*, by Father Ryder, Superior of the Oratory of Birmingham.

It met in Lambeth Palace under the presidency of the English Primate. The first such meeting, unprecedented in the history of Anglicanism, had been held in 1867, and was almost entirely given up to settling the dispute between the Archbishop of Cape Colony and his suffragan, Colenso. It was decided, not without some hesitation, that another meeting should be convoked, and Tait sent out invitations in March, 1876. The idea of rivalling the imposing assembly of Catholic Bishops which had recently congregated in Rome for the Vatican Council, and the wish to share the appearance of universality, influenced the decision. Not that this Anglican assembly could in any degree claim the authority of a council or a synod. The Crown, jealous of its supremacy, would not have allowed it, and among the Churches represented many had no intention of relinquishing their independence. Even the promoters of the gathering repeatedly insisted that there was no intention of coming to any obligatory decision concerning dogma or discipline, and that it was only intended to facilitate an exchange of ideas by a solemn conference among the Bishops assembled from various parts of the world.[1] The public therefore used an inappropriate term when it spoke of the "Pan-Anglican Synod"; the more modest official title was "Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, held in the palace of Lambeth." Perhaps Tait flattered himself that his see would finally gain a supremacy not only honorary, but more or less real, over the Anglican Bishops of the entire world, a sort of patriarchate, *alterius orbis papa*. Who could tell? At any rate, he would have realized that if such a dream were to have any chance of a

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 363-368.

future success, the first condition was present silence concerning it.

A hundred Bishops from different countries of the world met at the assembly. Their labours began with a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where Tait, seated in the ancient chair of St. Augustine, solemnly and without the slightest embarrassment recalled the mission given by Pope Gregory to the monk whose successor he claimed to be.[1] The deliberations then began at Lambeth Palace. In his opening discourse the Primate believed it necessary to insist upon the respective independence of the different bodies represented in the assembly, and the diversity of their forms of government. Specifying the nature of the government of the Church of England as it had been established at the Reformation, he thus expressed himself:

"The Sovereign of the Realm has claimed for himself—and, in my estimation at least, has justly claimed—that this National Church shall not be dependent upon any foreign power; that no power either within or without, be it ecclesiastical or be it what it may, shall set at naught the decision of that great civil power which God has established and sanctioned from the first. . . . What! you will say, the Sovereign interfering in a matter ecclesiastical? Thank God, in this country it is the theory that the Sovereign, as representing the civil power, is intimately connected with the Church of Christ established in these realms. . . . I am not saying that you are to adopt this in America, but I am saying that this is the Constitution of the Church of England."[2]

To the prelates of the United States this language must indeed have sounded strange, and was enough to

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 369, 370.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 371-375.

prove that a prelate so anxious to express his subordination to the English Government could never aspire to be the patriarch of the non-English Churches. Anglicanism, thus defined, would be forced to retain its insular position, which its members more and more felt to be incompatible with the notion of a true Church. The parade at Lambeth was after all nothing but an imitation, by means of which an attempt was made to display a Catholicity which should rival that of Rome.

The programme, settled and distributed beforehand, indicated various subjects for debate, upon which reports were to be drawn up by the assembly. Contrary to the advice of several of his colleagues, Tait introduced, as a sequel to the other deliberations, the two questions of ritual and confession. He deemed that an opinion emanating from such an imposing assembly would support him in surmounting the difficulties which daily embarrassed him. Upon the first question he easily secured from the Conference an opinion that no change in a ritual of ancient usage ought to be made contrary to the admonition of the Bishop. Upon the subject of confession matters ran less smoothly, but the Primate overcame opposition, and caused a resolution to be passed whose rather confused wording bore indisputable proof of the difficulty of reconciling divergent opinions, but which on the whole was a repetition of the declaration by which the English Bishops in 1873 had condemned confession as practised by the Ritualists.[1]

Pusey was much concerned at the way in which his own and his companions' manner of regarding confession

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 310-312; *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 413, 414.

for so many years was now censured. "To act against the apparent mind of a hundred Bishops," he said, "is a hard thing. . . . Such an act as theirs would have driven dear J. H. N.[1] out of the Church of England, if he had not been driven out before." After vainly attempting, by private letters, to obtain from the Primate a satisfactory explanation of the ambiguity of the resolution passed by the Conference, Pusey decided in 1878 to address a public letter to him, under the title *Habitual Confession not discouraged by the Resolution adopted by the Lambeth Conference*. He stated in this letter that for thirty-five years he had habitually heard confessions, and desired to know whether he was to consider himself censured by the resolution. He ended with these words:

"Nothing will satisfy the Puritan mind except our extirpation; but as confession began in the renewed earnestness worked by God the Holy Ghost in this century, so it will grow with the growth of that earnestness. It may be directed, but it cannot be extinguished."

No Bishop replied to this statement.

"Our Bishops," wrote Pusey, "seem paralyzed by our Presbyterianizing Archbishop of Canterbury. Not one breath to soften the Declaration of those hundred Bishops at Lambeth. However, no one has excepted against my minimizing of their words, and for this I am thankful. . . . I have good hope that I hindered some tender souls from leaving our communion, out of which Archbishop Tait would have driven them."[2]

Upon the whole, the opponents of "confession" gained only a platonic satisfaction from the resolution of the Conference. It continued to be practised and developed

[1] Newman.

[2] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 312-315.

as formerly in a section of the Anglican Church. Nor as regards ritual was the resolution any more effective, though Tait attempted to make use of it to obtain from the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury what had hitherto always been refused. After the work of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Rubrics, appointed in 1867, Convocation had been authorized in 1872, by a *Royal Letter of Business*, to deliberate upon the desired changes in the Rubrics of the Prayer-Book, "especially upon what concerned the ornaments and vestments." According to the letter of the Rubrics, these ornaments and vestments were to be those that had been in use in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. The Ritualists appealed to the text of this document, but the Courts of Justice declared it void, and caused a contrary usage to prevail. However, so formal an order was embarrassing to the opponents of Ritualism, and they eagerly desired Convocation to propose a modification of it. On the other hand, at the meetings of the E.C.U. and elsewhere, the High Churchmen loudly protested against any alteration. Their protest was listened to in the Lower House of Convocation, which had persistently rejected all proposals of modification adopted by the Upper House.[1] It was this resistance that in the spring of 1879 Tait endeavoured to overcome, relying on the feeling expressed by the Lambeth Conference. A first proposition, which was adopted by the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, was rejected in the Lower House by a majority of 63 votes to 13. This, however, did not discourage him, and he returned to the charge

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 277-281; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 166-168.

with a more modest proposal, and so influenced the assembly that it agreed to pass it by 39 votes to 24. This proposal left the rubric intact, until new rules had been enforced by legal authority. It specified, as a minimum, the surplice, the stole, and the hood, but did not prohibit the other vestments provided the Diocesan Bishop had not formally forbidden them. These declarations were inserted in a report which was presented to the Government in reply to the *Letter of Business*.[1] Tait endeavoured to persuade himself that he had done a great work for the suppression of Ritualism, and in his journal he poured forth his thanksgivings to God.[2] As a matter of fact, the vote did little to settle the question, having for the time no executive force. After an examination, the Council of the E.C.U. discovered that Convocation had not adopted the interpretation of the Privy Council, that it left the Ornaments Rubric as it was before, and that its advice was limited to suggesting that this rubric should become optional instead of obligatory. They also continued to protest more loudly than before against any alteration in the Prayer-Book, declaring that such a measure would be suicidal.[3] Shortly afterwards, in the Convocation of the Province of York, the Lower House refused to modify the Rubric by 25 votes to 20.[4]

VII

Whilst Tait vainly endeavoured, by episcopal action, to quell the trouble of which he was the cause, the Church

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 415-419; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 214-218.

[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 419.

[3] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 218. [4] *Ibid.*

Association, obstinately aggressive, continued its campaign of lawsuits with increased bitterness. Among others, the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie was still the object of its violent attacks, as his zeal, his influence, and his indomitable pertinacity had marked him out as an object for animosity. In spite of all previous condemnations, under the direction of this ecclesiastic the church of St. Alban's, Holborn, continued, by the obviously Catholic character of its decorations and services, to be the most complete type of a ritualistic church. Every Sunday High Mass—a name from which they did not shrink—was celebrated with a pompous ceremonial, chanting, and music, which attracted a numerous congregation from far and wide. The Church Association regarded this as an insupportable defiance, and pursued Mackonochie with a fresh lawsuit for not complying with preceding injunctions. The action dragged its way along, through all the legal obstacles only to be met with in England, to Lord Penzance's Court, on appeal to the Court of the Queen's Bench, then to the Court of Appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the House of Lords, at an enormous expense, which finally fell to the charge of the accused. The first step in this affair ended in November, 1879, with a judgment of Lord Penzance suspending the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie for three years from all ecclesiastical functions. The sentence was posted up on the church door, but on the arrival at St. Alban's of the Rev. W. M. Sinclair, who had been designated by the Bishop to take the place of the suspended vicar, Mackonochie courteously informed him that he did not admit the validity of the suspension, and intended to continue to officiate, which he there-

upon did, Mr. Sinclair retiring without further remonstrance.[1]

The energy with which Mackonochie met these judicial attacks lessened nothing of his apostolic activity. He was never happier than when a brief spell of leisure gave him an opportunity for entire devotion to parochial duties, in the pursuit of which he counted neither fatigue nor trouble. In one of his letters he mentioned having preached twenty-three sermons in seven days. Besides officiating at the services of his church, he spent his time in private exercises of piety, long hours passed in the confessional, incessant parochial visits, especially to the poor and the sick, the care of innumerable charitable institutions for the teaching and recreation of young people, artisans, and labourers, besides the spiritual direction of his communities. Other clergymen, fired by his zeal and fervour, led with him a life of celibacy, and shared his vicarage as a sort of community. Such were Stanton, Russell, and, more recently, Father Dolling, who used to be called "the apostle of the people," for in regard to him the Anglicans did not fear to recall the memory of a St. Francis of Assisi, or a St. Vincent de Paul.[2] The results obtained were considerable; the neighbourhood, formerly both morally and materially wretched, was in part transformed. The parishioners were in full and ardent sympathy with their vicar, uplifted by his zeal, taking part in his trials, and furnishing him with large subsidies.[3]

As these events became known, the asperity with which

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 175-177; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 205, 208, 222.

[2] *Cf. Life of Father Dolling*, by Osborne.

[3] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir, passim.*

this clergyman was pursued by his enemies, who were strangers to the parish, became more offensive. Many among the opponents of Ritualism were ashamed and embarrassed at such persecution. Mr. Martin, whose name had hitherto been used to carry on the prosecution, wrote to inform the Bishop of London that he would no longer appear as the prosecutor of Mackonochie. But the Church Association had no scruples, and only thought of pushing its victory to the farthest point. In 1880 another plan was undertaken, with the intention of definitely expelling the Vicar from St. Alban's, but various matters of procedure delayed the trial for two years.[1] In the meantime Mackonochie continued his functions, and declared his resolution not to withdraw a single step, but in spite of his courage, he began to show some signs of moral and physical exhaustion. It was quite apparent towards the end of 1882 that sentence of deprivation was about to be pronounced, and great excitement prevailed. Tait, who was ill at the time, and much preoccupied with the disastrous effect that would result from such violent proceedings—the result of his own policy—addressed a letter to Mackonochie full of affectionate regard, in which, "without wishing in any way to dictate to him," he inquired if he thought it possible in the interests of the Church to anticipate an imminent decision by the voluntary resignation of his benefice. Mackonochie, partly overcome by fatigue, and partly through deference for his sick Archbishop, with whom he was always on friendly terms notwithstanding differences of opinion, accepted the suggestion as an interpretation of the Divine will, and

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, p. 178; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 222-248.

agreed to make the sacrifice demanded of him. He resigned on December 1, 1882. The separation from the flock to whom he had devoted himself for over twenty years, was for both parties a sad event. For his farewell sermon, he took the subject of the necessity and the joy of sacrifice. His old parishioners gave a tangible proof of their gratitude and esteem by offering him an address with the sum of £1,800, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and many other ecclesiastics sent him their warm congratulations.[1]

It had been agreed between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that in place of the parish he had resigned Mackonochie should have the Vicarage of St. Peter's, London Docks, where he had made his first attempts in 1858. Consequently he was nominated to this in January, 1883. But scarcely had he been installed when his implacable persecutors, refusing to ratify the episcopal promises, declared that a resignation and a change of post could not screen a victim they were about to conquer. Lord Penzance decided that they were right, and decreed in July, 1883, that the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie should be deprived of all his ecclesiastical promotions in the Province of Canterbury. The Bishop, in consequence, placed the revenues of St. Peter's in sequestration. Mackonochie could no longer resist such a blow. His real sacrifice had been the abandonment of St. Alban's, and he had only reluctantly taken up the work of the new parish, which was by no means able to meet the loss of the confiscated revenues. Therefore, on December 31, 1883, Mackonochie resigned his benefice entirely and

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 473-480; *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 249-265.

without reserve, on the plea that he ought no longer to impoverish a parish already too much impoverished by its own circumstances.[1]

After a struggle of sixteen years Mackonochie was thus definitely conquered. But his resignation called forth innumerable tokens of sympathy from all quarters. The cruelty and the baseness with which he had been attacked after his resignation aroused the compassion of the public. The *Saturday Review*, which by no means patronized the Ritualists, declared that it was a moral condemnation from which the Public Worship Regulation Act could not easily be purged. But it would be a great consolation to Mackonochie that he only suffered individually, and that Ritualism, for which he had so bravely fought, continued stronger than before, especially in his former and much-loved parish of St. Alban's. The *Guardian* expressed a like sentiment on January 2, 1884.

Though having no definite functions to perform, Mackonochie still attempted to aid those who continued his work, but a daily increasing fatigue rendered this more and more difficult. In the combats that he had undergone the body was not the only sufferer; the mind also had been injured, and at times it wavered. In his attacks of depression and weakness he loved to seek a refuge in his beloved Scotland with his friend the Bishop of Argyll. It was there that death overtook him. On December 15, 1887, he took a walk, according to his custom, followed by two of the Bishop's dogs that were much attached to him. As he did not return in the evening a search was made, and only after forty-eight hours was his dead

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 258-260; *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 266, 267.

body found, covered with snow, and guarded by the two dogs.

Various indications led to the supposition that he had knelt down to pray for the last time. He was only sixty-two years of age. Probably a failure of memory, to which he had been subject for some time, caused him to lose his way in a country that was quite familiar to him. He was buried in the Eucharistic vestments for which he had fought and suffered so long, with a crucifix and his breviary on his breast. His body was taken to St. Alban's, and funeral rites were performed with a great display of that Catholic ceremonial which he had desired to restore, before an immense crowd, chiefly composed of the poor people to whom he had ministered with so much devotion. The tragic circumstances of his death added to the general sympathy; it seemed as if the people wished by their posthumous honours to wipe away the odium that had pursued this brave combatant during his lifetime. After the service the coffin was carried through the streets amidst the respectful salutations of the crowd. The long and solemn procession, headed by a large silver crucifix borne by acolytes, the numerous members of the clergy in surplices, the nuns, the school children, and the various confraternities and associations of the parish of St. Alban's, reminded many as it passed of the text: "His works have followed him."[1]

Although Mackonochie was the most prominent among those attacked by the Church Association, he was by no means the only one. There were other clergymen from various dioceses, some previously convicted, like Dale and

[1] *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, pp. 280-296; *Memoirs of a Sister of St. Saviour's Priory*, pp. 181-187.

Edwards, others charged for the first time, like Enraght and Green, who were pursued by lawsuits for ritualistic irregularities from 1879 to 1884, suffering suspensions of ecclesiastical functions, the closing of their churches, as well as enormous fines, and even imprisonment. In the case of Green, whose conscience would not admit of submission, the imprisonment lasted for two years. In most cases the clergymen prosecuted were compelled to resign their benefices.[1] The passion of the prosecutors did not recoil from proceedings that were abhorrent to the consciences of their opponents. In the process directed against the Rev. R. W. Enraght, accused among other misdeeds of having used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist, by way of evidence a consecrated wafer was brought forward, which one of the agents of the prosecution had obtained by communicating with the rest of the faithful. This wafer was left at the Registrar's office, with other objects and documents, in view of an appeal. When the fact, at first unnoticed, became known, a general cry of horror arose from those who professed belief in the Real Presence, and they began to be a considerable number. From all sides the Archbishop of Canterbury was entreated to come and put an end to such sacrilegious profanation. Tait, who still maintained his Protestant ideas upon the Real Presence, thought that an exaggerated importance was given to this irreverence, but nevertheless, not without difficulties of procedure, he ordered the wafer to be removed, and took care that it should be "reverently consumed."[2]

These outrages against their belief exasperated the

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, *passim*, pp. 209-268.
[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 263-266.

Ritualists, but they were neither crushed nor intimidated. The thought of suffering for their faith exalted them. Placards were posted up denouncing the "Victorian persecution," and comparing the imprisoned clergymen to the martyrs of all ages, from Daniel in the lion's den to Cranmer burnt alive under Mary Tudor.[1] The English Church Union, whose members daily increased in number, multiplied its protests against the Courts of Justice, and its marks of sympathy for the condemned, encouraging them in their resistance, and helping them with its subsidies.[2] The aim of those who spoke of destroying Ritualism when they passed the Public Worship Regulation Act, was never less likely to be attained than at this period.

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 422.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 214-253.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAILURE OF THE PERSECUTION

I. The persecution attracts sympathy to the Ritualists—Pusey's last protests—His death—Church, now Dean of St. Paul's, is compelled to express an opinion on the disputed topics—His protests against persecution—He even thinks for a time of resigning in order to give more force to his protests. II. Tait himself has for some little time been embarrassed and saddened by the violent situation he helped to create—His powerlessness to end it—He declares himself inclined to pay some heed to the grievances of the Ritualists—He secures the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the authority of the Courts of Justice in ecclesiastical matters—His vain efforts to prevent the vigorous measures taken against the Ritualists, and in particular against Mackonochie—His death—By general agreement the Public Worship Regulation Act has proved a failure. III. After a short period of quiet prosecutions begin again—The Bell Cox affair (1885)—The retable in St. Paul's (1888)—The Bishop of Lincoln is cited before Archbishop Benson—The Archbishop's career and opinions—He decides to try his suffragan—A year is taken up in preliminary skirmishes—The Archbishop's judgment (November, 1890) establishes a species of compromise between the Ritualists and their opponents—The general impression it makes is a favourable one—The Church Association appeals to the Privy Council—Anxiety and suspense—The Privy Council confirms the Archbishop's decision (August, 1892). IV. The Lincoln judgment renders a continuance of judicial persecution impossible—If the Ritualists have not obtained all they want in principle, they have gained, in fact, a liberty which they fully employ—Their sometimes rather extravagant displays—How are they to be judged when compared with the Tractarians? V. Epilogue—The opponents of Ritualism return again to the attack—The agitation roused by Kensit—Parliament leaves it to the Bishops to put an end to the crisis—Powerlessness of the Bishops—Increasing agitation—The Government appoints a Commission of Inquiry—Protests

of the Ritualists—Appeal to the first six centuries—Change of Ministry—What is going to happen?—The resumption of persecution would endanger the Establishment—Will the Ritualists always be satisfied with toleration?—Will they not dare to provoke a rupture with the Protestants? and, in that case, what will happen?

I

THE prosecution, although unsuccessful in conquering the Ritualists, was, on account of its very excesses, a means of arousing unexpected sympathy on their behalf. The Church Association could not help seeing that its relentless persecutions were becoming wearisome, and called forth opposition even from those who usually took little interest in religious matters. As one of the chief spokesmen of the Association afterwards said with some bitterness, it had become "fashionable" to criticize its proceedings.[1] Many of its early adherents fell away, and the opinion became general that the ritualistic clergymen, who, although eccentric, were at least deserving of sympathy for their zeal and charity, were being too severely treated. Imprisonment now seemed the natural termination of these persecutions, and when, as in the Rev. S. F. Green's case, the term was prolonged to two years, every feeling of justice and common sense in the public mind revolted. To have recourse to such punishments in matters of conscience, and in order to enforce certain forms of worship, was surely in opposition to all modern ideas. J. G. Talbot, a member of the House of Commons, gave utterance to a very widespread conviction when he wrote that imprisonment in such cases was "a scandal and an anachronism."[2]

[1] *The Work of the Church Association*, by James Inskip, a tract published by this Association.

[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 469.

If this was the effect produced on men of the world who had no interest in the debated matters, it may well be imagined what the effect was on Churchmen, who, without actually being Ritualists, shared many of their aspirations and beliefs. I am speaking here of the old Tractarians, and in a general way of all those who were connected with the High Church party. Pusey, now an octogenarian, and worn out by illness and old age, still found strength to renew his public protests against the sentences of imprisonment, and to show his sympathy with the victims. If a clergyman, threatened with prosecution, showed any signs of discouragement and spoke of resigning his post, Pusey came to his aid and encouraged him. The battle was not lost, he said, but it would be lost if those who were to fight it resigned. He was particularly indignant at the long imprisonment of the Rev. S. F. Green, which he longed to share. He made known to the instigators of this persecution that he also practised the same rites, and called upon them to inflict upon him the same punishment.[1] Faithful as ever in upholding the integrity of the faith, he published, against Canon (afterwards Dean) Farrar, a defence of the doctrine of eternal punishment.[2] His health was now failing from day to day. On August 31, 1882, he wrote a letter to the *Times* in favour of the Rev. S. F. Green. This was his last public act, for he lingered only a short time longer, and died on September 16 in the deep faith and piety which had characterized his whole life. The Church of England in losing him was conscious of an irreparable loss. He

[1] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., pp. 291, 361-370, 380-382.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 344-358.

had been held in suspicion for many years after Newman's secession, but in course of time he acquired, more by the influence of his moral qualities than by any superiority of intellect, an importance and authority which even influenced his adversaries. According to Lord Selborne " He was a power in the Church greater than Archbishop or Bishop."[1] The greater number of his co-religionists acknowledged that they gained something in the eyes of the world by showing themselves in the light of his virtues. He is still venerated by many as the Saint of Anglicanism, and his admirers have founded in his honour Pusey House at Oxford, where clergymen, living together for prayer and study, are entrusted with the work of keeping alive his memory, and carrying on his apostolate. The altar on which he daily celebrated the Eucharist and the picture of the Holy Face before which he used to pray are there treasured as most precious relics.

Several other High Churchmen had, with Pusey, adhered more or less to the Ritualist party: among others, R. W. Church, an old Tractarian, whose action was particularly remarkable. The reasons that induced him to take up this position are important and interesting. I have already several times mentioned the effects produced by the different phases of the religious crisis on this careful observer. In the remote country rectory, where he had taken refuge after the secession of his beloved Newman, he had, until the year 1871, taken little notice of passing events, except as a spectator. He carefully refrained from taking any side, or associating himself with any movement, shunning publicity, and

[1] *Memorials, Personal and Political*, vol. ii., p. 72.

devoting himself only to the care of his parishioners and his own sanctification. His only communication with the outer world was by means of the well-written and carefully weighed articles published by him on literary and religious subjects. At the end of 1871 a sudden change took place in his life. Mr. Gladstone, with considerable difficulty, succeeded in dragging him from his retreat, to appoint him to the important dignity of Dean of St. Paul's, the Cathedral Church of London. In this office it was no longer possible for him to preserve an impartial attitude; his position, in the very place where the most vital incidents of the religious contest were enacted, placed him full in the eye of the public. If he would not take part in the strife in person, he was at least expected to make known his opinions, and to bring his influence to bear on the questions of the day. Though silence and obscurity had a special charm for him, still duty was foremost, and determined him to devote himself to all the claims which his office entailed. Not content, therefore, with stirring up a new religious life in his Cathedral, till then so cold, empty, and silent, he did not hesitate to take his part in the great issues which were violently agitating the Church. This mode of action, added to the prestige which he had derived from his connection with the heroic period of the Oxford Movement, soon acquired for him a universally recognized authority in the religious world. The words of the Dean of St. Paul's had weight with all, and by degrees he came to equal Stanley, the Dean of Westminster, in social importance. In character they were very unlike. Church was the counterbalance, as it might be said, of Stanley. The one was an accomplished man of the world, a brilliant

talker, with a mind eager to embrace rash and revolutionary ideas; a dilettante and yet combative personality, impassioned and sceptical, but amiable and extraordinarily attractive. The other was a Churchman, and at the same time a man of letters; full of piety and faith; a man whose wisdom, candour, uprightness, and reserve shunned notoriety, and left him free from the cravings of ambition; dignified, though at the same time full of humility. When the conversation drifted into commonplaces, he was voluntarily silent, but his forcible eloquence was displayed when the subjects discussed were of a more lofty nature. Though he was austere, there was a deep and touching charm in his austerity. He had neither enemy nor detractor, and all agreed that the profound impression made on them by his personality was due to "his moral beauty."

Among all the questions on which the Dean of St. Paul's was called upon to give a decision, that of Ritualism was the most fiercely debated. Church, who was so moderate in his views that he had at times thought that Pusey was going too far, had little sympathy with the Ritualists. He was surprised and somewhat shocked by their ideas, and still more so by their conduct. But, at the same time, with his breadth of mind and readiness to give up his own point of view and adapt himself to that of others, he did not persist in still regarding the Movement under those forms and limits in which he had known it at its commencement. He saw the change it had had to undergo in passing from University to parish, from the scholars of Oxford to the apostles of the popular parts of London, and the reason for this change was apparent to him, although under its

new form the Movement attracted him less. But much as some of the peculiarities of Ritualism displeased him, the policy which aimed at crushing a religious movement and doing violence to men's consciences by laws, prosecutions, and coercive measures, displeased him still more. From the very beginning, therefore, he had no hesitation in siding, if not with the Ritualists, at least against their persecutors, and in extolling methods of tolerance, liberty, and patience.[1] On the introduction of the Public Worship Bill, he had signed a declaration pointing out the danger of enforcing rigid uniformity in forms of worship, particularly in all that concerned the "eastward position" and the use of ecclesiastical vestments. Not that he had any desire to wear a chasuble or cope, a costume which he, for his part, found "uncomfortable," but he understood "the frame of mind which, partly out of special reverence for our highest service, partly out of regard to what I suppose was early, if not the earliest, usage, makes men wish for them."[2] When legal actions and prosecutions became more frequent in consequence of this Bill, Church expressed his disapproval still more strongly. Writing to his friend Lord Blachford, an old Tractarian like himself, who, seeing only the follies of the Ritualists, approved of the policy of repression, Church thus explained his point of view:

"I can only see in the legal decisions, and in the measures which had brought forth their results in the present crisis, a misuse of law such as has before now been known in history, and a policy of injustice towards an unpopular party, which has, I think, as much to say

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 228, 243, 244, 256.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 241, 242.

for itself as any other in the Church, which has done good service to the Church, and which, provoking as it has often been, has had more than parties in English controversy usually have to provoke them. I could condemn Mr. Tooth as heartily as you do; but then I must have condemned even more strongly greater men than Mr. Tooth."[1]

In April, 1877, the day after the imprisoning of the Rev. Arthur Tooth, and the eve of the sentence of the Supreme Court in the Ridsdale case, Church took an important step, by means of a declaration signed by about forty-five prominent clergymen, and addressed to the Primate and his colleagues on the Bench, "to express the great anxiety and distress which they felt at the present position of affairs." In their opinion, the evil could only be remedied by the "living voice of the Church," and the continuation of prosecutions would only make matters worse.[2] In his uneasiness Church even began to ask himself if all this was not really leading direct to "disestablishment." Years passed, and instead of signs of peace, Church heard only of fresh prosecutions. The breath of folly seemed to him to have passed over the heads of all, for everywhere around him was confusion and violence. He never wearied of repeating his cry for peace and tolerance. We find it in his private correspondence,[3] and in a letter addressed to the *Times* on December 16, 1880,[4] and again at the beginning of 1881, in a new address to the Primate signed by nearly five thousand clergymen.[5] The signing of this address

[1] Letter of January 5, 1877 (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 253, 254).
[2] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 288-290.
[3] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 261, 262, 281.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 284. [5] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 424-426.

gave him an opportunity of making some remarks on the spirit of the clergy, which he thus sums up in a letter of January 30, 1881:

"One never knows *how* ticklish things are; but they are ticklish. I have been surprised at the extent to which indignation and alarm have penetrated among the clergy. I am quite sure that if any man with a name had put forth a strong declaration, undertaking under no circumstances to recognize Lord Penzance or the rulings of the Privy Council, it would have attracted more and more enthusiastic signatures than our paper. There was a time, three weeks ago, when lifting a finger could almost have been a signal for revolt. People sign our paper for want of something stronger."[1]

Church felt so keenly the gravity of the situation, that at one time he was in doubt as to whether he ought not to resign his high ecclesiastical offices as a warning and a protest against the prolongation of such a state of things. He referred this case of conscience to the Rev. Dr. Talbot, Warden of Keble College, Oxford, who, he said, understood his way of seeing matters better than the excited and desperate minds around him. His perplexity was very great, and the causes to which he assigns it are of interest, as they permit us to penetrate into that refined nature, and to see the impression made upon him by the state of religious affairs. He wrote to Dr. Talbot on May 18, 1877:

"Nothing that has happened has shaken, and I do not think that anything of the same sort could shake, my belief in the present English Church. It has defects and anomalies in plenty, but so has every Church that I know of, or that I ever heard of. And there is in it a vigour, a power of recovery, and an increasing value for what is good and true, which I see nowhere else. But it is a

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 287.

question what individuals ought to do when, either in a Church or a nation, they seem to see a policy deliberately followed by those who happen to have power, which appears to them to be unjust, encroaching, and unconstitutional. If they have no special position they can grumble, protest, and wait, hoping for better things. But if they are in a place of honour and emolument, where yet they can do nothing, and where they are under the temptation of silence and compliance from private motives, submission and waiting are not so clear duties. If they cannot hinder mischief, they may at least resign.

"I cannot help believing that the course of Government lately in the English Church is such a policy as I have described. The Bishops, frightened by a movement which they have not tried to understand or govern, have encouraged appeals to law. The law courts have roughly attempted to maintain existing usage. The Archbishop has aggravated the mischief by stirring up the country by a measure intended to facilitate the operation of this judge-made law, while he steadily discountenances any attempt to control it by the only constitutional organ of legislation left to the Church. And the end is that, while all sorts of liberties are allowed to parties in the Church which the public opinion of the hour sanctions, a tight screw is put on one unpopular one, and a grotesquely one-sided and stiff conformity to minute legal interpretations of rubrics is enforced by penalties, and is preached and paraded as the crucial test of loyalty to the Church, and honest obedience to the law.

"To me this seems to be unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive. It is certainly exasperating and impolitic. But the only way in which I can show that I am in earnest in so thinking and speaking, is by quitting the high position which I hold.

"You will believe, that though I never wished to come here, it is a serious thing to give up, and begin again to find something by which to help my family. That is one thing to hold one back. Another is, that I most earnestly desire to do nothing to shake confidence in the English Church itself. I don't believe in disestablishment: I can see in it nothing but the

present victory of mischief in the Church and in the nation. And any man's move, even a simple resignation, under these circumstances, gives a shake. And I am in great perplexity as to what I ought to do, remembering that the Church never gains by what looks like inconsistency and weak compliance by her ministers who have a considerable stake to lose."[1]

Church was with some difficulty prevailed upon to believe that his resignation would do more harm than good. He finally gave up the idea. The fact that such a prudent and devoted servant of the English Church should have for a moment entertained the idea of resigning was a characteristic sign of the trouble which then beset the religious world, and also the strongest possible condemnation of the policy pursued at the time.

II

Events had belied Archbishop Tait's expectations in a most mortifying way. According to his friends he did not as a rule like to confess that he had been deceived, or to consider himself conquered.[2] But from 1876 to 1877, scarcely two or three years after the passing of the Public Worship Act, it was plain that his first overweening confidence was beginning, as we see from his private diary, to give way to a weariness, sadness, and uneasiness of spirit. Instead of confining himself as heretofore, to referring the malcontents curtly to the decisions of the Courts of Justice, he now endeavoured to appease them. At the Church Congress held at Croydon, he advocated tolerance and mutual forbearance.

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, pp. 258-260.
[2] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 108.

Twice, in August and December of the same year, about a hundred clergymen of note, purposely chosen on account of their different religious views, met at his palace. He called this a "devotional meeting," in order that matters of controversy might not be discussed in the assembly, but that all hearts might be united in prayer and charity. At one time he flattered himself that he had sown the seeds of peace. "There was plenty of plain speaking," he writes in his diary, "but an admirable spirit, and, by God's blessing, I look for really good results." The tone of the leading party papers must soon have dashed his hopes to the ground. Those on the anti-ritualist side were very bitter, and one of them denounced the Archbishop's invitation as a snare set for the simplicity of the Evangelicals. It related the story of the Anglo-Saxon King who had allowed one altar to Christ and another to pagan idols to be set up in the same church. Here was a sample of unity, it said, but it was not the unity of one faith and of one spirit. Another paper on the same side could not understand how a man could invite his friends to meet violators of the law, traitors, blasphemous idolators, and wondered how they could believe that their attendance at Holy Communion in such strange companionship would be an act "well-pleasing to Almighty God."[1] The events of the years that followed only made Tait feel still more strongly how powerless he was to still the tempest which he had let loose. Between the victims of persecution, whom he could not reduce to submission, and their persecutors whom he now, at last, tried in vain to restrain, he did not know which way to turn. He wished

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 292-294.

to put a stop to certain prosecutions which seemed to him excessive, like that of the Rev. R. W. Enraght, but this led him into difficulties with the Church Association, and although he could not help seeing the evil effect of these imprisonments, he was reduced to expressing a quite platonic disapproval in his private letters.[1]

Friends, whose devotion the Archbishop could not doubt, were not sparing of their warnings. One of them, Dr. Lake, Dean of Durham, wrote to him in 1878:

"I think your best chance of peace lies in meeting that sort of Ritualism, which is, in fact, the religious spirit of the age. . . . I don't want you to go down to posterity as the great man who damned up the deluge to allow it more completely to overwhelm his successors."

He pointed out to him, forcibly, the evil effects of violent measures, and showed him that the English Church was gradually drifting into a state of general disastisfaction, that an "outbreak of Popery, along with Disestablishment," was to be feared.[2] Let us add that Tait had, during the year 1878, lost his son and his wife, one after the other. The effect produced by this great grief on a character naturally severe and unbending was to make him more relenting and kind toward his adversaries. Traces of this are found in his diary. After having mentioned the annoyance which he felt at seeing trifling alterations in the ceremonial of the Communion, in a certain church, he reproached himself with being too apt to be upset and irritated by such things. He reminded himself of the difficulties experienced by clergy in satis-

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 422, 429, 432; *Memorials of Dean Lake*, p. 104.

[2] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, pp. 229, 257.

fying the faithful whose needs were often so contradictory, and he ended with this prayer: "O Lord, teach me to rise to the great realities, and to be above being influenced by small trivial matters. Give me real charity and fairness."[1] This was certainly not the tone in which he formerly spoke of the innovations of the Ritualists.

Thus, owing to various causes, the mind of the Primate gradually underwent a change. An ecclesiastical Conference, held in December, 1880, gave him an opportunity of publicly proclaiming his altered opinions. In his address, he no longer maintained, as he had done hitherto, that the questions debated might be settled by the existing laws, and the interpretation given to them by the Courts of Justice. He recognized the extreme gravity of these questions, and after having mentioned the attack directed against the "present system of ecclesiastical legislation and judicature," he added:

"I know, my reverend brethren, that you agree with me that nothing in such matters is to be gained by violence, either of action or of speech. What I wish to commend to all who are agitated by recent events is this—that they would calmly ask themselves definitely what they want. . . . If they are anxious for certain important changes in our existing constitution let them state explicitly what they are, and they may rest assured that their suggestions will be respectfully and calmly considered. . . . If there is anything faulty in it (the present form of our highest Court of Appeal), by all means let it be remembered. All true Churchmen, desirous that the Church of England should fulfil its heavenly mission, will, I feel confident, endeavour to allay any excitement which is around them, and if they find that strong feelings have been aroused, will apply themselves in a quiet spirit of prayer, to consider whether any

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 332.

changes ought, for the Church's highest welfare, to be made, and, if so, what they are."[1]

This attitude was so new, that the High Churchmen, remembering his former opinions, at first received it with distrust and incredulity.[2] To one of them who expressed a doubt of this kind, the Archbishop replied on December 31, 1880, by a letter which he caused to be published in the *Guardian*. In this he again states that the Bishops were well-disposed towards taking the grievances of the Ritualists into consideration. He alludes to the punishments to which certain clergymen had submitted, and considers the fact that "clergymen of otherwise unimpeachable character" should consider it their duty to expose themselves to these penalties, a sign "that there must be some exceptional difficulty in the present arrangements."[3] Shortly afterwards, at the beginning of 1881, Gladstone assured Pusey of this conciliatory attitude taken up by Tait. His whole tone, he wrote, seemed entirely changed, and the writer was convinced that the Archbishop was now honestly bent on a work of peace in the Church.[4] "When I think of the days of the Public Worship Act, I can hardly believe him to be the same man."

The Archbishop did not content himself with this public and private profession of his views. He resolved to ask the Government—first, To bring in a Bill which would confer legislative or quasi-legislative force on the decisions of Convocation on questions of ritual; second,

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 423, 424.
[2] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, pp. 106, 107.
[3] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 431, 435-437.
[4] *Life of Pusey*, vol. iv., p. 364.

to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the legislation of the Courts of Justice in ecclesiastical matters. He flattered himself, that, on the one side, the Ritualists would not offer the same resistance to a regulation proceeding from a purely ecclesiastical authority; and, on the other, that the appointment of this Commission would prove to them that their claims were being considered. This two-fold step cost him a great deal. By the first, he gave up his former Erastian policy, which set aside Convocation in favour of Parliament; by the second he implicitly acknowledged that the Public Worship Regulation Act had not succeeded in solving satisfactorily the problem of ecclesiastical judicature.

The ministry, without whose aid nothing could be attempted, objected to the first of the Primate's demands. Although Gladstone, the Prime Minister, was personally in favour of the independence of the Church, he did not dare to propose a law which would weaken the supremacy of the civil power in religious matters. On the other hand, he gave a favourable reception to the proposal of a Commission of Inquiry, not that he expected it to do any effective work, but he thought that its immediate result would be to inspire the malcontents with hope that would calm them, and to prevent the abettors of the prosecutions from undertaking any new ones.[1] Tait, accordingly, in March, 1881, brought forward a motion on this subject in the House of Lords. It was adopted, and the Commission of Inquiry was appointed without delay. The Archbishop, who was called on to preside, set to work immediately. He was extremely desirous of bringing matters to a speedy con-

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 431, 437-444.

clusion, for he knew that he was attacked by a malady which threatened to leave him very little time.[1]

At the very moment when he was expending his energies in these last vain attempts at bringing about peace Tait saw, with keen sorrow, that the judicial proceedings were increasing and becoming more violent, and he felt more and more overwhelmed by the movement which he had helped to start. This was the time of Green's prolonged imprisonment, and it was a strange spectacle to see the Archbishop exhausting himself, from August, 1881, to November, 1882, in desperate efforts to put an end to the measure of which he saw the deplorable effect. Vainly he proclaimed that imprisonment for contumacy in matters ecclesiastical was never contemplated when Parliament passed the Public Worship Act. Vainly he addressed, in turn, Green himself, the Church Association, the Bishop of Manchester, to whose diocese the incriminating clergyman belonged, the Crown, and Parliament. He multiplied his undertakings and his letters, not even interrupting them when his health obliged him to go to the Riviera to seek some little relaxation. He attacked the obstinacy of the prisoner, the animosity of the prosecutors, the ill-will, heedlessness, or impotency of those on whom he called to interfere. It was only after fifteen months of these entreaties, and when, on account of this very delay, Green had

[1] This Commission had no definite result. After Tait's death, which happened a little later, it continued its labours, and in August, 1883, issued a Report, which was well received by the High Church party. Tait's successor, Archbishop Benson, then thought of presenting a Bill to Parliament which would embody some of the recommendations of the Report, but he was forced to abandon the idea owing to the opposition or apathy of his colleagues on the Episcopal Bench (*Life of Benson*, by A. C. Benson, vol. ii., pp. 47, 48, 68).

forfeited his benefice, that he obtained the termination of an imprisonment for which there was now no longer any cause.[1]

The same efforts and the same powerlessness were seen in the Mackonochie case. I have already had occasion to relate how the Archbishop, troubled and agitated at the thought of the scandal which the dismissal of such a zealous clergyman would cause, tried to avert this extreme measure, by obtaining voluntary resignation from the Vicar of St. Alban's, and by removing him to another living. He anxiously followed the incidents of these negotiations from his dying bed, his secretary writing the letters for which he had no longer the strength.[2] But here again his failure is well known. The obstinacy of the prosecutors and the rigour of the judge baffled all his efforts, and, in spite of all, Mackonochie was crushed and broken. Tait never learnt this last blow, for he died on the first Sunday of Advent, 1882.

The Primate had indeed lived long enough to see the evil caused by his policy, but not long enough to repair it. He left his Church in a state of confusion, division, and disquiet, for which he was in great part held responsible. The religious party which he had flattered himself that he could crush was still to the front, and had gained in strength, confidence, and popularity. All his contemporaries, as well as those who judge events from a historical point of view acknowledge that his own special work, the Public Worship Regulation Act, had been an absolute failure, "a conspicuous failure from first to last," as his biographer says.[3] Such a failure was quite out

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 453-473.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 474-480.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

of keeping with the statesmanlike qualities that had been so long ascribed to this prelate. A distinguished American Churchman, visiting England shortly before Tait's death, asked the following question: "How does it happen that the wisest and most respected of your Bishops is the author of the most unpopular, ridiculous, and unworkable of modern Acts of Parliament?" [1]

III

The prosecutions of Green and Mackonochie had had so disastrous an effect that there seemed to be no inclination for further indictments, and a kind of lethargy appeared to settle over the religious world. The author of an address, presented to the English Church Union in June, 1883, congratulated them on entering upon a period when the activity of the association might be applied to other matters than the legal defence of its prosecuted ministers.[2] All, however, had not yet laid down their arms, and again in February, 1885, the truce was broken by new prosecutions for illegal ritual. These proceedings were directed against the Rev. J. Bell Cox, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Liverpool. This church had been put up for sale some time before, and had been purchased by a number of secular gentlemen for the purpose of introducing into it the "Catholic Ritual." The parish comprised no other ground but that on which the church and presbytery were built, and the congregation that voluntarily assembled there was in perfect agreement with the vicar. The trial, following the accustomed course, ended in December, 1885, by the suspension of the reverend

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 186.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 262.

gentleman for six months. In May, 1887, was pronounced sentence of imprisonment, to which the Court of Queen's Bench speedily endeavoured to put an end. The efforts made to obtain a new imprisonment failed, though motions to this effect had been laid even before the House of Lords.[1] These violent legal proceedings were evidently less and less popular. From the beginning of this trial Evangelicals of note had made a special point of showing their disapproval, and the Church Association itself had "washed its hands of it."[2] The persecution in this case was particularly ineffective, for the Rev. J. Bell Cox remained in his church, continuing the same practices, and on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of his ministry, in July, 1899, he took pleasure in recalling, in his address, the trials of the past from which Ritualism had victoriously come forth.[3]

The Bell Cox affair had not ended, when in June, 1888, the Church Association reappeared on the scene with new prosecutions. One concerned a sumptuous marble altar-screen, which the Chapter of St. Paul's had had erected, and which had cost not less than £40,000. As the Virgin and Christ on the Cross were represented on this screen, the plaintiffs maintained that the Chapter should be compelled to remove a monument which "tended to encourage superstitious devotions." The Bishop of London, Dr. Temple, the writer in *Essays and Reviews*, an open-minded man, though holding *Broad Church* opinions, now used the *veto* given him by the P.W.R.A. to prevent a prosecution which he considered stupidly vexatious. Being attacked

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 276-285, 288, 289, 294-299, 325, 336-396.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[3] *The Church Times*, July 21, 1899.

on this point by the Church Association, he was defeated in the Court of Queen's Bench; but on his appeal to the House of Lords, his absolute right of *veto* was recognized in 1891.[1]

The other lawsuit was to have more important results. The Church Association, desirous of re-establishing by a master stroke its rapidly declining influence, had resolved to make a direct attack on a Bishop. Its choice fell upon Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln, a man much respected for his virtuous life and character. He had previously, from 1862 to 1871, been Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College, and from 1871 to 1885 Professor of Theology at Oxford. In both those positions he had set himself to arouse piety and faith among young clergymen, generally inspired by Catholic traditions. He had a special gift for touching and winning hearts, but his influence sometimes went beyond the goal aimed at, and more than one convert to Catholicism bears witness to having imbibed, under his direction and instruction, the germ of those ideas which later on led to the true Church. On being made Bishop, it was Dr. King's object to bring the forms of worship into harmony with the beliefs which he intended to restore, and he therefore favoured ritualistic methods in his diocese. The emissaries of the Church Association, who were sent to watch the ceremonies at which he officiated, had no difficulty in finding several practices which might be treated as illegal. His position as Bishop prevented his being brought before the judge appointed by the P.W.R.A.; he was, therefore, summoned before the Archbishop of Canterbury, on June 2, 1888.

[1] *History of the English Church Union*, pp. 304, 315, 319, 320, 324; *Life of Archbishop Benson*, by A. C. Benson, vol. ii., p. 209.

Since the death of Tate, in 1883, the primatial see had been occupied by Dr. Benson. This prelate's career had been a rapid and successful one. Appointed by Disraeli to the newly-created Bishopric of Truro in 1876, he had, at the age of fifty-three, been raised by Gladstone from that see to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. It cannot be said that any exceptional merit accounted for this unusual advancement, or for the favour shown by the two rival statesmen. The prelate had neither remarkable gifts nor great originality. His was a mind not naturally given to disquietude. He was an optimist, perhaps somewhat superficial, but gracious, kindly, and conciliatory. He was tactful and clever in getting out of difficulties, and very dignified in manner. His piety was genuine, and he had an exalted opinion of his ecclesiastical duties, which, however, did not imply that he was insensible to the worldly advantages attaching to his high office. He carefully avoided classing himself with any of the religious parties, although he was in certain respects in sympathy with each of them. Family tradition and early education would have attached him to the *Low Church*, and on this account he preserved an affectionate feeling for those whom he called "the darling old Evangelicals." He admired their solid faith without closing his eyes to the fanaticism, or, according to his own expression, to the "little tinge of Torquemada" mixed with it, and he thought that the Established Church would suffer a great loss if they separated from it.[1] From his Cambridge days he was connected with the trio—Lightfoot, Wescott, and Hort, who represented the most Christian side of the *Broad Church*, and afterwards with Kingsley, who repre-

[1] *Life of Benson*, by A. C. Benson, vol. ii., pp. 12, 234

sented another side of it, and to whom he became bound by the bonds of a close friendship. His mental bent, his piety, his tendency to view religious matters from an historical standpoint, which led him to take his precedents from a period previous to the Reformation, his interest in the ancient liturgy, and his taste for ceremony and symbolism, seemed to give him many points in common with the High Church. At the age of thirty he wrote: "I am myself neither High, nor Low, nor Broad Church, though I hear myself consigned by turns to all—as often to one as to another."[1] Later on, when he had reached the summit of the hierarchy, he was still careful not to let himself be compromised with any party, but to remain on good terms with all. On the day after his nomination to the primatial see, replacing Tait as President of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the legislation of the Courts of Justice in religious matters, he made a report which was favourable to High Church ideas.[2] At the same time, he chose a chaplain who might inspire the Evangelicals with confidence, and took measures to prevent them from feeling "uncomfortable" in the Church of England.[3] He was much attached to his Church, and convinced of the truth of its position, and he looked upon it above all as a "comprehensive" institution, in which those of different opinions might dwell together in peace.

The summons for the Bishop of Lincoln to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury raised a preliminary question. Had the Archbishop power to judge his suffragan? Precedents were rare and uncertain. If the metropolitan's jurisdiction could be justified by a Pope,

[1] *Life of Benson*, vol. i., p. 179. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 67, 68.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 565; vol. ii., p. 234.

as supreme head of the Episcopate, whose delegate the metropolitan would be, it was not at all clear on what foundation it could be established in an acephalous Church like that of England. It would have to be made to proceed from the Royal Supremacy, at the risk of making the dependence of the Church still more manifest. This seemed to be in Benson's mind when, on June 26, 1888, he asked that his power of jurisdiction might be recognized by the Privy Council. When the question was laid before the latter it declared, on the following 3rd of August, that this jurisdiction[1] did exist.

This first point settled, another arose, as to whether it would be expedient for the Archbishop to use his *veto* to stop the prosecution. Several High Churchmen, founding their reasons on the unworthiness of the accusers, desired him to do this.[2] Others advised him to do it for his own interest, as the only means of being freed from difficulties. If he allowed the trial to run its course, he would, according to the general opinion, bring about a formidable dilemma; for he must either conform to the preceding decisions of the Privy Council and condemn his suffragan, which, it was to be feared, would cause the exasperated Ritualists to stir up unprecedented discord in the Church; or he must go against the judgment of the Privy Council, and in that case would give rise to a conflict between the two high powers, ecclesiastical and civil, which involved the danger of bringing about the ruin of the Establishment. The feeling about this double peril was so strong that Lord Carnarvon, an influential member of the House of Lords, tried at one

[1] *Life of Benson*, vol. ii., pp. 326-328.
[2] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 312.

time, though without success, to get the Government to interfere and have the trial stopped.[1] It may easily be imagined that, personally, Benson was tempted to get out of the difficulty, but after mature reflection and consultation with his friends, he decided that he ought not to do this. His withdrawal would have left the Church in a state of disorder and division, and he considered it the duty of his office to seize this opportunity to repair the evil done by his predecessor, and to substitute for the policy of strife, which had so manifestly failed, a policy of peace and tolerance, the need of which was so much felt. He thought that, on the one side, the High Churchmen would have more regard for the decision of an ecclesiastical authority; and, on the other, that the Privy Council would not hold out against a decision founded on strong grounds. He saw that, in any case, there was work to be done. The difficulty and risk of the undertaking disturbed him, but he was encouraged by the thought of the benefits which would result from it. He made known his resolve to one of his most intimate friends, Bishop Wescott, by a note containing the single word *Audeo*.[2]

The legal proceedings opened at Lambeth Palace on February 12, 1889.[3] The Archbishop sat surrounded by four Bishops, whom he had requested to be present for the purpose of consultation, but he took upon himself all responsibility for the sentence to be pronounced. The religious world anxiously awaited a decision of which all felt the extreme importance. The English Church Union had invited its ecclesiastical members to celebrate the Holy Eucharist on this day, in order to beg Almighty God

[1] *Life of Benson*, vol. ii., pp. 344-346. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 694.
[3] See *Life of Benson*, vol. ii., chap. vii., for all the facts which follow.

to turn the result to His glory. A whole year was occupied by preliminary skirmishes. The counsel for the Bishop of Lincoln at first refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and demanded that their client should be judged by an assembly of all the Bishops in synod. They then contended that a Bishop was not bound by the rubrics, which spoke only of the "minister." On these two points they were defeated. The debates on the main point began on February 4, 1890, and lasted twenty-one days. After this the Archbishop closed the case and reserved his judgment till a later date. Refusing to admit that he had only to apply the law of the Privy Council, he intended to make a profound study, especially from an historical point of view, of the questions raised. It was only after having prolonged this study for eight months, first in his library at Lambeth, and afterwards in an Alpine retreat, where he spent the summer months, that, having convinced himself that the judgments of the Privy Council showed a very imperfect knowledge of the subject and little breadth of view, he made up his mind and gave his decision. On November 21, 1890, a numerous and excited throng, in which all the most important members of the High Church might be distinguished, crowded into the audience chamber to hear the reading of the judgment. The text was very long, and, with the appendices, filled not less than ninety-nine pages of the Law Reports. The Archbishop first spoke of the precedents of the Privy Council; he spoke guardedly, declaring with what care he had studied them, and the importance which he attached to them. Then he added:

"Inasmuch also as the researches of later students have brought much fresh observation to bear upon historical

points admittedly obscure, the Court has not felt it right so to shelter itself under authority as to evade the responsibility or escape the labour of examining each of the points afresh, in the light of this ampler historical research, and of weighing once again all the reasons which may be advanced either for or against any of the actions or usages now under consideration."

This point having been stated, the Archbishop dealt with the grievances one after another. He based his judgment principally on historic grounds, which took him back to pre-Reformation days. On each point he came to a compromise which, though seeming at times to condemn the extreme practices of Ritualism, yet, in reality, left it a sufficiently wide scope. The ceremony of mixing water with the wine was forbidden in the Communion Service, but the use of the mixed chalice was not. The celebrant was not to make the actions with his hands at the consecration in such a manner as not to be seen by the congregation, but the eastward position was permitted, and the *Agnus Dei* was considered lawful. So also was the ceremony of ablution, provided it was done when the service was finished, and after the benediction. Lighted candles placed on the Communion table were allowed, provided that they were lighted beforehand, and that lighting them was not made a ceremony of the service. The judgment ended with a statement delivered by the Archbishop with particular emphasis, wherein he deplored the practice of hiring witnesses "to intrude on the worship of others for purposes of espial," and declared the right of the Church "to ask that her congregations may not be divided either by needless pursuance or by exaggerated suspicion of practices not in themselves illegal."

The reading was very well received; indeed, at one

moment, sounds of applause were heard, but were promptly suppressed by the Archbishop. The favourable impression was strengthened by mature reflection, and the moderates on all sides approved of a decision which was manifestly inspired by the desire for peace, without any thought of party spirit. Sir Richard Webster, the Attorney-General, wrote: "It was not only masterly, and to a fair-minded man conclusive, but the spirit of peace and Christian toleration which has been infused into its whole tone cannot but have a vast influence for good in our Church."[1] Among High Churchmen the chief feeling was one of satisfaction, although they regretted being opposed with regard to certain details.[2] Church, who was ill, had followed the trial with intense anguish, but was greatly relieved by the result. He had written to his son-in-law: "This horrid Lambeth trial haunts me." Now he wrote: "It is the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years," and a few days later he died more reassured as to the future of his Church.[3] As to the Bishop of Lincoln, although retaining the opinion that a trial of a Bishop in synod would have been more in accordance with ancient precedent, and more satisfactory for the Church at large, yet he declared that he was most thankful to have at once been able conscientiously to comply with his Grace's judgment, and discontinue those actions of which he disapproved.[4] On the other hand, the Protestants were much disturbed. They said that the Lincoln decision was the severest blow received by the Church of England

[1] *Life of Benson*, vol. ii., p. 370.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.
[3] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 349.
[4] *History of the English Church Union*, p. 335.

since the Reformation, and that the dignitaries of the Church had been weighed in the balance and found wanting, that when the crisis came they deserted truth—when put to the test they were found to be of base metal. The hope was also expressed that the Church Association would appeal to the Privy Council about "this shameful judgment," and this was, in fact, done immediately.

Great excitement arose amongst those who had rejoiced over the judgment, for it was to be feared that the Privy Council, following the example of the Supreme Courts, might think itself bound by its former pronouncement. The usual contempt of lawyers for ecclesiastical judicature might, in this particular case, make the Council less likely to support the Lambeth decision. But, on the other hand, the grounds on which the judgment had been given, and the historical research on which it was based, would undoubtedly obtain for it serious consideration. And, above all, it did not seem judicious to deal lightly with the state of public feeling.

The general disapproval and the evident dangers of a still more prolonged prosecution would also have to be taken into account. Politicians were now convinced that Ritualism was too great a force to be put down by coercive measures. This was the opinion of Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister.[1] The effect produced on the lawyers themselves by these considerations may be traced in the words of one of the most distinguished among them, Lord Selborne, who had taken part in the condemnation of the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale in 1877. In 1880 he had declared that, in spite of his preference for "liturgical uniformity" and the displeasure he felt at the introduction

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., pp. 448-450.

of novelties into the Eucharistic service, he was ready to put aside his prejudices "for the sake of peace in the Church and to prevent the evils which I should apprehend from Disestablishment."[1] In April, 1889, with regard to the Lincoln case, he added:

"For my own part, I am entirely of one mind with you in thinking that, under present circumstances, it is much better to submit to and acquiesce in deviations (even if they seem ever so wrongheaded) from the Act of Uniformity, as interpreted by the authorized Courts, on matters of dress, posture, and forms of ritual, than either to break up the Church, or to drive out of it Bishops, clergyman, or laymen, who are otherwise good men, good Christians, and doing good work. I think with you that they have too strong a body of opinion on their side . . . to make the strict enforcement against them of the law which they refuse to obey practicable, if it were expedient."[2]

The Privy Council sat in June and July, 1891, to hear the lawyers on both sides. Sentence was not pronounced until a year afterwards on August 2, 1892. This delay may possibly be taken to indicate the difficulty the judges felt in reversing their previous decisions, but in any case their capitulation was complete. They unanimously confirmed the judgment of the Archbishop on all points. A general feeling of relief was the result. The *Times* itself, formerly so bitter against the Ritualists, considered this decision a victory of tolerance and a work of peace. The *Record*, the organ of the Evangelicals, whilst regretting that ceremonies foreign to the spirit of Christian simplicity should be allowed, rejoiced as at an unmixed good at the agreement of the two courts, the spiritual and

[1] *Life of Tait*, vol. ii., p. 444.

[2] *Memorials, Personal and Political*, by Lord Selborne, vol. i., p. 401.

the secular. As to the Archbishop, he wrote in his diary: "*Deo sint gratiæ qui rem nostram gubernavit. Pax Ecclesiæ. Amen. Pax Ecclesiæ.*"

IV

According to general opinion, the decision given in the Lincoln case held good not for this particular case alone, but made any future prosecution of the kind impossible, and put an end to the persecution which had raged for so many years. The organ of the Ritualists, the *Church Times*, understood this, and stated on August 5, 1892, that this decision closed the period of prosecution for matters of ritual. The Church Association, on its side, saw with vexation that it must give up its legal proceedings. Its only consolation was in imputing the complete downfall of its undertakings to the treachery of the Bishops, the carelessness of politicians, and the apathy of the public. Henceforward it employed its energies in distributing tracts, and for this purpose it mobilized a service of vans to hawk its proselytizing wares through the country.

Thus, to the honour of England, was shown the absolute powerlessness of legislative and judiciary measures in questions of conscience. At the commencement the Ritualists seemed to have everything against them; they were an unpopular minority, half disowned by the High Church itself. Their ideas clashed with the customs and prejudices of their fellow-countrymen: Press, Parliament, Government, Courts of Justice, and Bishops appeared to have conspired to overthrow them. Yet when coercive measures were employed against them, the very scandal of such means was sufficient to revolt the mind of the people, to recall the Bishops to their duty, and to compel

the tribunals of justice to come to terms. The famous Act, specially invented by Parliament to crush them, had to take its place on the rubbish-heap of old and forgotten laws, with so many other legislative measures which sprang from Protestant fanaticism, but were soon disowned by that spirit of justice and liberty which is ever supreme in the English nation.

Did the Ritualists, then, obtain full satisfaction for their demands? Their claim was that the Church herself ought to state her doctrine and regulate her ritual; the interference of the civil courts of justice in these matters seemed to them insupportable. In the Lincoln case, although the Privy Council had resigned itself to conforming to the decision of the ecclesiastical tribunal, it was, nevertheless, still the author of the final judgment, for the Archbishop only ventured to exercise his jurisdiction after it had been sanctioned by the Privy Council. In point of fact, the results are favourable, but the evil of which those complained who desired a spiritually autonomous Church, still exists; and, to speak the truth, having regard to the origin and the principles of Anglicanism, it is not easy to see how there could be any remedy.

The English, however, are accustomed to look at facts rather than theories, and the fact in this case was the satisfaction of the Ritualists, who might henceforth continue their practices freely without being liable to prosecution. They made a liberal use of their liberty, and daily gained new ground. The statistics of the English Church Union proudly set forth the churches where the revived Catholic rites were observed.[1] The Church

[1] According to the *Tourist Church Guide*, the number of churches in which the eastward position was observed had gradually increased

Association made with great indignation a similar statement, and one of its tracts contained a list of 9,600 clergymen who were forwarding "the Romeward Movement in the National Church."[1] The Ritualists were particularly fortunate in the towns, where, owing to the number of churches, those who were displeased by any changes could frequent another; but in villages the innovators were obliged to be more discreet, though even in the country the Protestants denounced the increasing number of "contaminated" parishes. The strength of the movement towards what was called High Ritual was so great that it was even felt in the temples of the Evangelicals themselves. Day by day they departed more and more from the old naked Puritanism. There was scarcely one church in which the pulpit remained in front of the communion-table. Altar-screens, flowers, and even candles, were introduced into several, and it became quite usual to wear the surplice for the sermon. The music and singing received the same attention, and a similar tendency existed among the Dissenters.

Not only did Ritualism increase, but its ceremonial became more and more openly Catholic. Its authorized spokesmen announced publicly that they could not take for their ritual a better model than the Church of Rome, which had always preserved hers so faithfully.[2] These Ritualists were never more happy than when a stray

in 1884 to 2,054, in 1896 to 5,964, in 1898 to 7,044. Similar progress is shown with regard to the other rites in dispute—Eucharistic vestments, altar candles, mixed chalice, etc.

[1] *The Ritualistic Clergy List: Being a Guide for Patrons and Others.*

[2] Address at a meeting of the English Church Union, July 30, 1889, and quoted in *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 350.

visitor mistook one of their churches for a Roman Catholic church,[1] and never more distressed than when they had to confess that there was still something wanting to make the resemblance complete. Lord Halifax declared that of all sad and discouraging sights, he did not know a sadder or more discouraging one than that of an English Cathedral, even the best, after one had passed some time on the Continent.[2] And it was well understood that resemblance in external forms was not the only thing sought for, but also resemblance in devotion, doctrine, and belief. The Rev. V. S. S. Coles, who was later on to be put at the head of Pusey House, thus defined the aim of the English Church Union:

"That the . . . unspeakable mystery of the Altar may be recognized as a Divine Communion, a true Sacrifice, a Real Presence demanding a special adoration; that the Holy Communion may be rightly prepared for, and to this end that there may be wider opportunities, and more frequent use of Private Confession; that the ancient Catholic rule of Fasting Communion may be better observed; . . . that the Anointing of the Sick may be rightly and dutifully restored; that all rites and ceremonies which witness to our union with the rest of the Catholic Church, and to the doctrines which we hold in common, may be protected and restored."[3]

Associations and confraternities for the cultivation of all forms of Catholic piety increased steadily; such was the Guild of All Souls to pray for the dead.[4] Their books, prayers, manuals, and catechisms were almost identical

[1] *The City of Peace*, p. 24.
[2] *The Lord's Day and the Holy Eucharist*, p. 38.
[3] Quoted in *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, p. 338.
[4] See what *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* says on this subject (p. 227 *et seq.*).

with the works which we use.[1] There was scarcely any difference except with regard to the Pope; some actually recognized his title to honour, and even his supremacy. The day when the unhappy divisions of Christianity would end, and when the English Church would be again united to the Church of Rome, was openly hoped for. Lord Halifax even thought in 1895 that the hour had come to realize this corporate union. We know what hopes seemed for a time to authorize the language of some of the Anglicans and the pronouncements of the Pope; we know also how these generous illusions were summarily and painfully dispelled in September, 1896, by the *non possumus* of the bull on the invalidity of the Anglican ordinations. This check undoubtedly caused a certain coolness towards the Holy See and Rome. Although those in the English Church still felt the need of putting an end to their isolation, and although they still spoke of union, it was henceforth rather with the Oriental Churches separated from Rome; but in spite of being now more anti-papist, the Ritualists still claimed to be none the less Catholic.

This powerful movement continued to be more or less in a state of disorder. I have already several times remarked the habit the Ritualists had of going absolutely their own way, without paying attention to any ecclesiastical authority whatever. The impunity which they had now secured gave them free scope for their fancy. Each one now did as he pleased with regard to worship and doctrine, with the result of childish affectations and

[2] See, for example, a little book very much in vogue, the first edition of which appeared in 1893—*The Catholic Religion : A Manual of Instruction for Members of the English Church*, by the Rev. Vernon Staley, with a preface by the Rev. T. T. Carter.

eccentricities, which set up a certain incongruity, or, as it was called, a "chaotic confusion," having no resemblance to Catholicity.[1] Thus the heads of the party, disturbed at this disorder, which they knew did not exist in the rival Church, began to wish for the establishment of a "Congregation of Rites" similar to that of Rome.[2] They were forgetting that it was not sufficient to erect machinery; they must also have the power of setting it in motion. In the Roman Church this power is the authority of the Pope, from which springs that of the Congregation of Rites, but the Anglican organization is devoid of any such power.

This disorder and these peculiarities, which had so often grated upon Pusey and others, have sometimes led people to hold a contemptuous opinion of the Ritualists. Comparing them to the Tractarians, many refuse to admit that they are their lawful descendants. Instead of the serious views of life, the deep belief, the anxious search after truth, which characterized the first leaders of the Oxford Movement, there was to be found in many of their degenerate successors nothing but what some considered childish obstinacy and superficial opinions. They seemed to be more engaged in amusing themselves with certain decorations than in sacrificing themselves for a faith which they had gained at such cost. It cannot be denied that, in some cases, this severe judgment was justified; but, as a general rule, it was not. Among others—who, it is to be hoped, will in the end prevail—

[1] Some converts, formerly connected with the Ritualists, have related the absurdities that they sometimes witnessed (see *The City of Peace*, or *The Anglican Soul*, by the Rev. F. Chapman).

[2] A communication from Canon Newbolt at a meeting of the English Church Union, June, 1897.

the importance attached to the forms came from attachment to the doctrines which they made manifest. Side by side with collectors of old chasubles, there were many others, like Father Dolling, who, when showing his priestly ornaments to a French priest, said, with a shrug of his shoulders, that "his heart was not in those." Undoubtedly such men had not always the culture and intellectual power of the great Tractarians. They were less brilliant, less learned, less fitted to deal with the subtleties of modern criticism than other descendants of the Tractarians—for instance, those High Churchmen who were influenced by Broad Church views, and of whom the Rev. Charles Gore, the editor of *Lux Mundi*, now (1906) Bishop of Birmingham, is the most prominent representative. But as they had to do with people in parishes, and not with the élite of a University, they were more animated by the zeal and ardour of the Apostolic missionary than were the Tractarians. They were to be seen at work in the wretched quarters of the working classes, where Anglicanism had hitherto had no hold. The new "theological colleges," through which they had all passed, gave them training in spiritual matters, and, as it were, a clerical stamp, unknown among their forerunners who had been completely fashioned in the Universities, and of whom it could be said that "they passed directly from the cricket-fields, or the rivers of Oxford and Cambridge, to the altars of the Church of God." In fact, there appeared now a type of clergyman hitherto almost unknown in the Established Church—one who was less a man of the world, and less a scholar, but more clerical, more ascetic, more apostolic, one who came nearer to our ideal of a Catholic priest. Though

seeming to contend about questions of candles and chasubles, they really began to revive in the Anglican Church the Sacramental life which had become almost extinct. In many ways they were truly the successors of the Tractarians, continuing and completing their work; and without comparing them or claiming that they were equal to these, it can be said that many noble and beautiful souls were to be found among them. Newman, the best judge in this matter, wrote to Dean Lake in 1882: "I feel great sympathy for the Ritualists, because I know how much high principle goes with their acts, how much successful work, and again, on the part of their opponents, how much unjust and unworthy treatment of them."[1]

V

Though it may be said that the judgment given in the Lincoln case was a victorious termination of the long struggle sustained by the Ritualists to secure their position in the English Church, it must not be imagined that they were henceforth free from all attacks on the part of the Protestants. On the contrary, very few years were to elapse before they were again exposed to a violent attack. It is not now the time to undertake a detailed account of this second crisis, of which the result is still to come, but it may be described as more clamorous than dangerous. A brief summary of the events will, however, be a useful epilogue to the history just related.

This new awakening of Protestant passion followed on the check received in the campaign undertaken in 1895 and 1896 by Lord Halifax to bring about the reunion

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, pp. 259, 260.

of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The opponents of the Ritualists thought this a favourable moment to take their revenge, as the Ritualists were compromised by the advances made to Rome, and, at the same time, humiliated and thrown into confusion by the failure of these advances. Books were published which made formidable accusations against the Romanizers,[1] nor were their assailants satisfied with controversy through the Press. A certain man named Kensit, a London bookseller, and a person of little importance, made up his mind, at the beginning of 1898, to carry the war into the very interior of the ritualistic churches. He began on Good Friday in his own parish, into which the Catholic ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross had been introduced. He was suddenly seen advancing towards the altar, seizing the crucifix and brandishing it in the air, at the same time crying out in a loud voice: "I protest against this idolatry." On the signal being given, many scandals of the same kind occurred every Sunday in other ritualistic churches. Kensit raised a "brigade for the defence of Protestantism" to help him in this riotous work, which was carried on throughout all England. The people became aroused, and in many cases brawls were the result. Politicians of importance did not disdain to support this low agitation, which disgusted refined minds, but was not without its effect on the vulgar. Sir William Harcourt, one of the leaders of the Liberal party,[2] a celebrated lawyer and financier, imbued with Erastian ideas,

[1] See especially *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, by W. Walsh. This book, which was to be followed a little later by another, entitled *The Romeward Movement*, had a sale of several thousand copies.

[2] He died at the beginning of October, 1904.

published as many as nineteen letters in the *Times*. He attacked the ritualistic practices with unusual vigour, and denounced what he called "the lawlessness in the Church," attributing it to the negligence, or the connivance, of the Bishops.

The Bishops found themselves in a difficult position. They had no desire to see a campaign of coercion begin again, knowing from experience its uselessness and danger, but they were alarmed by so great an outcry. Some few were in sympathy with those who attacked Ritualism. In the primatial see, Benson, who had died in 1896, had been replaced by Temple, whose firmness had some weight with the public. The new Archbishop adopted a moderate and intermediate course. He found fault with the new ceremonial on several points, but at the same time he would not have recourse to strict measures; his statements on questions of doctrine, and especially on the Eucharist, were ambiguous, but rather inclined to the High Church view. This increased the wrath of the Protestants. At a monster meeting on January 31, 1899, the name of the Primate was hailed with cries of "Traitor! Shoot him!" An appeal was made to Parliament to have its authority substituted for that of the Bishops, in order to make the law respected in the Church. The Ritualists, who on their side had been somewhat stunned by the violence of the explosion, soon recovered. By means of Lord Halifax and clergymen of importance they made known their resolution not to recognize the right of the Crown or the Parliament to regulate the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial of the Church of England; and they even denied the power of the heads of that Church to make rules opposed to those of the Universal Church, a doctrine

which, we may say, must have sounded strange to Protestant ears. They declared also that they "would be happy to suffer, if necessary, for their principles," and in answer to the threats made against them, they answered with threats of rupture and of "disestablishment." This defiant attitude was not likely to appease their opponents or remove the difficulty felt by the Bishops. In a caricature of this time, the Archbishop of Canterbury may be seen clinging distractedly to the tottering trunk of a tree which represents the Established Church, whilst at the end of a branch just ready to break is a Ritualist in gorgeous robes, proudly brandishing a censer. Underneath is written—*The Archbishop:* "For the love of Heaven, stop this nonsense, or you will break everything; it is cracking already." *The Ritualist:* "I don't care."[1]

During the course of the session of 1899 the question of Ritualism was raised several times in both Houses of Parliament. The leading Ministers, Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons, and Lord Salisbury in the Lords, succeeded by clever manœuvres, in spite of the popular agitation, in avoiding coercive measures. In theory they found fault with certain ritualistic forms, and in practice they preached patience and moderation. When, in May, a Church Discipline Bill was presented to the Lower House with a view to recommencing the legal prosecutions of the Public Worship Regulation Act, Mr. Balfour succeeded in adjourning it, by a vote on an amendment, which declared that while the House was not prepared to accept a measure which would create fresh offences, and which ignored the authority of the Bishops in

[1] Related in an article by Abbé Dimnet in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, April, 1899.

the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, it was of opinion that, if the efforts then being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the obedience of the clergy had no speedy effect, it would be necessary to undertake further legislation in order to maintain the observance of the existing laws of the Church and of the realm.

What could the Bishops do to carry out a work in which, if they failed, Parliament had reserved for itself the right of interfering? The two Archbishops, of Canterbury and York, offered themselves as arbiters to decide the questions in dispute. Two were submitted to them, those of incense and the reserving of the consecrated elements. After prolonged debates between the champions of the two parties, the Archbishops gave judgment on both points against the Ritualists. This caused great discontent amongst them. They were particularly indignant at the decision about reservation, in which they saw a denial of the existence of the Real Presence and of the duty of adoration. They argued that as the prelates had decided, not in virtue of their ecclesiastical power, but as interpreters of an Act of Parliament, and as they were not in agreement with the customs of the Universal Church, their decisions were not binding. They saw nothing in them but the opinions of individuals without canonical authority, and they called them "the Lambeth opinions." The more zealous among the Ritualists at once proclaimed their intention of not obeying. Others, it is true, were less determined, and consequently a certain amount of discord appeared in the very heart of the English Church Union. The Archbishops did not claim that their opinions should have any executory force; each Bishop might apply them in the way that seemed most opportune. In

fact, the mode of action varied according to the dioceses. In some, the Bishops tried to forbid the use of incense and the reservation of the consecrated elements, and inflicted a kind of "boycotting" on the disobedient; in other dioceses, they left things as they were, or, at least, as in London, tried delay and compromise. They were still far from having the uniformity they desired, for besides the two points decided by the Archbishops, there were many other ritualistic practices which continued as heretofore.

The opponents of the Ritualists, although at the time they welcomed the decisions of the Archbishops, were far from being satisfied. Kensit and his acolytes continued their turbulent campaign through England, disturbing the Divine Service, and trying everywhere to stir up Protestant fanaticism in its grossest forms. As the general elections were to take place in October, 1900, a great effort was made to introduce the ritualistic question. The Church Association, which had been somewhat in the shade in consequence of its legal disappointments, appeared again on the scene with the electioneering watchword: "Protestantism before politics." But in spite of the outlay of considerable sums of money the result was small; the electors appeared to be more interested about the war in the Transvaal than about the grievances of Mr. Kensit. The prolongation of the campaign started by him did more to disgust and weary the public than to rouse them to action. The agitators were, moreover, exposed to personal danger, and several of them were sentenced by the courts for their acts of violence. In September, 1902, Kensit's son was sent to prison, and some weeks later Kensit, who had been wounded in a fray

caused by himself in Liverpool, succumbed to his wounds. Such was the discredit into which this man had fallen that, in spite of the efforts of his followers to have him crowned as a martyr, his tragic end received scarcely more notice than any other passing event.

Some of the Protestants, forgetting their past mistakes, would have liked to engage again in prosecutions. In 1900 some so-called "aggrieved parishioners" wanted to summon before Lord Penzance three ultra-ritualistic London vicars; but the Bishop of London, supported by his clergy, put his veto on this. As they could not proceed against persons, they then undertook several prosecutions against things, and demanded consistorial courts from the secular judges, to order the removal of the ornaments which were displeasing to Protestant prejudices. It was a curious and somewhat ridiculous sight to see these lawyers deciding about such questions as that of the crucifix. Very little resulted from it all. The ornaments condemned in one church were to be found in several neighbouring churches. The whole affair became odious when, as at Brighton, after legal proceedings which lasted three years it ended by permitting a person to ransack the church, remove the crucifix, the Stations of the Cross, the statues of saints, and the confessionals, and to convey them away pell-mell in a furniture-van.

The Bishops, criticized on every side, were far from having brought about the peace, order, and uniformity in the Church which was expected of them. They made vain attempts at conciliation. At the two Round Table Conferences in 1900 and 1902 the Bishop of London assembled representatives of the different religious parties

with a view to establishing a kind of compromise on the questions of the Real Presence and Confession. In spite of the courtesy with which these matters were debated, the only result was to bring to light differences that seemed without remedy. More than ever confusion, discord, and trouble held sway. An incident in February, 1903, increased the wrath of the Protestants still more. Mr. Evans, Vicar of the Parish of St. Michael's, Shoreditch, on being threatened with prosecution by the Bishop for his ultra-ritualistic practices, answered by resigning and passing over to the Church of Rome with his curates and a large number of his parishioners. This conversion followed closely on another not less remarkable, that of the Rev. R. H. Benson, a son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

This brings us to 1903. Almost four years had elapsed since the House of Commons decided to suspend its action, in order to allow the Bishops an opportunity of showing what they were capable of doing by themselves. The opponents of the Ritualists thought that the moment had now come for Parliament to appear again on the scene, and they demanded that the Church Discipline Bill, of which the discussion had been adjourned in 1899, should be again brought forward, and another scheme added to it. They were almost certain, as they thought, to get a favourable hearing in an assembly which was not now, as formerly, composed of Churchmen alone, but in which Protestant Nonconformists held a place, being called upon to decide about the government of the Church of which they were the rivals and enemies. In March, 1903, the second reading was passed by a majority of fifty-one votes. This success was, however, more apparent than real. Neither the majority, nor, above all, the

Government, knowing the uselessness and danger of coercion in matters of religion, meant to go farther, so that at the end of a few weeks Mr. Balfour was able to tell the House that "the two bills were dead."

When the session was over little could be done but to mark time, without any advance being made towards a solution of the difficulty. The Low Churchmen continued their denunciations, the Ritualists their protestations. In the ranks of the latter, however, there was not perfect harmony. The moderates might be seen trying to form a body which should not be compromised by those of more advanced views. As to the Bishops, in their embarrassment and differences of opinion, they hesitated to exercise their rather doubtful authority, and were consequently attacked by both sides as before. To add to this trouble, which originated in some clergymen being too Catholic, there were others in an opposite camp who gave scandal by questioning the fundamental truths of Christianity, such as eternal punishment, the virgin birth, or the resurrection. If one of the latter was dismissed by his Bishop, many retained their ecclesiastical offices without being interfered with, and this was the moment chosen by the majority of the Bishops to bring up again the suppression of the Athanasian Creed, whilst the Archbishop of York advised Eucharistic inter-communion with the dissenters.

On the re-opening of Parliament in 1904 the question of legislative interference was again put forward, on the pretext of the powerlessness of the Church to regulate her own differences. Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister, was no more in favour of it than before, but to prevent any weakening of a majority already shaken from other

causes, he thought it necessary to do something. His aim was to make what he had to do as inoffensive as possible, and with this intention, in April, 1904, he appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the alleged disorders of the Church. This was an expedient to which Lord Derby had previously had recourse in 1867, so as to put off any real action.

Since that time the inquiry has pursued its course. The Commissioners had hardly been chosen when the Protestants complained loudly that so few of their way of thinking were selected, and one of their papers declared that the Commission was nothing better than a farce. They set to work, however; spies were sent to all parts to take note of the irregularities of the Ritualists on the spot, and they reported these to the Commission. The Ritualists, on their side, were not quite satisfied with a mode of procedure which implied the right of the State to interfere in religious matters; and although they were unable to obtain much information about the mysterious doings of the inquiry, they did not cease criticizing the proceedings. At a meeting of the English Church Union held in October, 1904, at Liverpool, Lord Halifax directed attention to the fact that the questions of ritual to which the inquiry was supposed to be restricted were closely connected with graver questions of doctrine with which the Commission was neither competent nor authorized to deal. The real matter of debate, he said, was whether the Communion Service of the Established Church was the same as the former Latin Mass, translated into English with some changes, some of which were laudable, others deplorable. If this point were granted, he continued, it meant the condemnation of the Protestant

gitation; the Ritualists could not make any compromise bout this matter, nor would they shrink from any sacrifice. ıs to the authority of the Bishops, Lord Halifax declared imself ready to submit to it, if it was exercised in virtue f their apostolic power, and not in consequence of an ıct of Parliament or a decision of the Courts of Justice. ıtill, he would only acknowledge it for the regulation of ertain details of ceremonial, not for the alteration of /hat was connected with the very essence of doctrine, or /hat was consecrated by the practice of the Universal :hurch. These statements were repeated in June, 1905, t the annual congress of the E.C.U.

In the midst of this controversy an important member f the Anglican clergy, Dr. Wace, Dean of Canterbury, hought that he had discovered a criterion which would ecide the questions at issue between the Ritualists and heir adversaries. He proposed "to appeal to the first ix centuries," and to decide that nothing should be con-idered truly Catholic which did not meet the approval nd agree with the general practice of the Church before he end of the sixth century. A considerable number of he clergy at first took up this idea, and it also seemed to e well received by the new Archbishop of Canterbury,)r. Davidson. After some delay the Ritualists opposed :. Some independent thinkers pointed out the difficulty nd arbitrariness of fixing a limit, at which that develop-ıent which is a law of the Church and the very essence f any truly living institution would be supposed to stop. 'he remedy for the dissensions in the Church of England ; not likely to have been found in this suggestion, any ıore than elsewhere.

Since the end of 1905 the Commission of Inquiry

has ceased hearing the deponents, but its report has not yet (1906) been given. The Ritualists fear, from many indications, that it will be unfavourable to them on several points, and are disputing its authority beforehand. In the meantime, Mr. Balfour, who was apparently little likely to take vigorous measures, has been put out of office, and has given place to a Liberal Cabinet, supported by a majority of which Protestant Nonconformists form a considerable and influential part.

This is the present state of affairs. What will be the result? A renewal of persecution? A new attempt at legislative and judiciary coercion? In spite of the Protestant section of the new Cabinet, I doubt this. There is every possibility that means will be sought to restrain ideas which seem to go too far, and the leaders of the High Church are not likely to take exception to this. But if any attempt is made to attack what is essential in ceremonial and doctrine, the Ritualists will not submit; rather than do so, they would break the bonds that bind them to the Established Church, and in the confusion of this disruption grave danger would threaten the Establishment itself.[1] Such an outlook may well cause the rulers of Church and State to tremble.

Even if the public authorities hesitate to assume the offensive against the Ritualists, the difficulty will not be removed. The question is, how long will the Ritualist party accept the situation which has been created in the English Church? How long will it be satisfied with being tolerated by men whose opinion, not only on forms of worship but on the elementary truths represented by these forms, on the Eucharist, and on the other Sacra-

[1] See the *Nineteenth Century* of September, 1905.

ments, it looks upon as the rankest heresy? Such discordant elements may not shock the theologians of the Broad Church, who profess indifference as to dogma, and may suit politicians who are more or less sceptics, and who, being occupied only with external order, find this state of things a guarantee against an increase of sects, and a means of compelling men of opposite convictions to live almost at peace. This is what has been styled the *comprehensiveness* of the Church of England, which is looked upon as a distinction and an advantage. But the idea of the Ritualists is quite different; at least, of those for whom ceremonial is not merely the gratification of superficial piety, but who cling tenaciously to the faith of which it is merely the outward form. They do not admit that their Church is an edifice constructed by the hand of man for the assemblage of all the different religious opinions which the English profess. They hold with those of the Oxford Movement, that this Church is a Divine Institution, entrusted with revealed truths, which she must jealously guard, uphold, and teach. The so-called "comprehensiveness," founded on a kind of dogmatic eclecticism, seems nonsense to them. When they were threatened, in the beginning, with being refused their place in the Church, the tolerance extended to them seemed like a victory. But they could not consider that this tolerance gave them a normal position, or one in agreement with their principles. On the contrary, the very fact that they are tolerated constitutes a violation of these principles, since it supposes, on the part of the religious authorities, who have not excluded them, the idea that differences of dogma are matters of indifference and of secondary importance.

What, then, is to be done? The Ritualists cannot flatter themselves that they could impose their Catholic ideas on the general body of Anglicans. They know that the Protestant feeling is still very potent amongst a great number of them.[1] Moreover, to declare that they wish to belong only to a Church which is truly Catholic, and which admits into her communion only those who profess Catholic beliefs, would be to cause that very disruption which their opponents would have brought about by excluding them. Will they have the courage to face so formidable a crisis? Is it not, after all, to their advantage to form part of an Established Church which is so rich and powerful? Have they not been obliged in the Anglican religion to resign themselves to a great many inconsistencies, and to become accustomed to practise in religion (where they ought to be inadmissible) those compromises by which their country has so much benefited in the sphere of politics? Doubtless these reasons have made them content with toleration until now, and perhaps they may be satisfied with it for some time longer—if, that is to say, their Protestant co-religionists do not make this cohabitation too unpleasant. Still, it is evident that the falseness of such a position will become day by day more painful and insupportable for men whose sincerity and uprightness of character is beyond question. To judge by their language they are beginning to become convinced of this. In April, 1903, Lord Halifax said in an article that, however much one might minimize the conflicting elements and the points of divergence within the

[1] Lord Halifax lately brought up this saying of one of the first Ritualists, the Rev. J. M. Neale: "England's Church is Catholic, though England's self is not" (*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1903).

Church of England, there were practically something very like *two* religions in the English Church.

The day is still to come when words will be replaced by action, and the Catholic and Protestant elements at present found in the Established Church be separated. Where the line is to be drawn is one of the many existing problems. The convictions and characteristics of many of the High Churchmen are not of the same stamp. It would be impossible to say how many among them would consider themselves obliged to break away, and would have the courage to do so. As we are allowing our curiosity to question the future, one last question may still be asked. Would the Ritualists, when—to follow out their Catholic convictions—they had once separated from the Protestants, stop, so to speak, half-way? Would they not be led by the logic of their principles to embrace Catholicity in its entirety? Any prediction on this point would be even more rash now than some little time ago. I know well the mass of prejudices, of interests, of historical and political facts, which weighs upon their spirits and makes compliance with the demands of their true ideas so difficult. Once more, I prefer to take shelter behind the man who was best qualified to risk a prognostication in such a matter. Newman said openly that he did not count on the present generation of Ritualists coming over to Rome, but he placed his hopes on their descendants. In the letter already quoted, in which he expressed to Dean Lake his sympathy with the Ritualists, and his confidence in the triumph of their second generation, he added, "Unless, indeed, as I hope and am inclined to believe, that the second generation becomes Catholic."[1]

[1] *Memorials of Dean Lake*, pp. 259, 260.

The Rev. Father Walworth, an American priest, in company with a foreign priest, was one day visiting Newman. The conversation was in Latin on account of the foreigner. When asked if the Anglicans, already carried so far by some mysterious current, would not go on and end by reaching Catholicism, Newman confined himself to replying in the two words: "*Spero fore.*"[1] It is with these words that I, too, will conclude: *Spero fore.*

[1] "Reminiscences of a Catholic Crisis in England" (*Catholic World*, New York, August, 1899).

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